

Aspects of Passives in Capeverdean (Santiago's variety)

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ASPECTS OF PASSIVES IN CAPEVERDEAN (SANTIAGO'S VARIETY)

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ABSTRACT

The present dissertation intends to study passives in Capeverdean. I argue that Capeverdean have eventive passives with specific morphology, postverbal morphemes, *-du* and *-da*, which affix to the verb to form passives and interact with the TMA morphemes available in the language in the same way as in the active voice. I also show that Capeverdean only allows short passives. However, this study demonstrates that the *by*-phrase, although not expressed phonologically, is implicit and can be tracked through instrumentals and Agent-oriented adverbs. In order to account for this specific property of Capeverdean passives, I assume the existence of a Voice head which introduces the external argument in all finite sentences in Capeverdean, except in unaccusatives, following proposals from Marantz (1984), Kratzer (1996), Sailor & Ahn (2010), Pratas (2014). I also assume that this Voice head is subject to a Doubly Filled Comp Filter, similar to what is proposed in Koopman (1997), which determines that either heads or specifiers can be overt, never both. In the case of passives, I propose that external argument is in Spec,Voice and the passive morphology is lexicalized in Voice⁰ and that while Spec,Voice is silent, Voice⁰ is not. This configuration can be explained if it is assumed, following Costa & Martins (2004), that in Capeverdean passives Voice⁰ is a strong functional head, thus requiring visibility at PF. This restriction, combined with the Doubly Filled Comp filter, imposes that Spec,Voice is silent.

Keywords: Capeverdean, eventive passives, syntax, *by*-phrase

ASPETOS DAS PASSIVAS EM CABOVERDIANO (VARIEDADE DE SANTIAGO)

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RESUMO

A presente dissertação estuda as construções passivas em Caboverdiano. Defende-se que o Caboverdiano tem passivas eventivas com morfologia específica, os morfemas pós-verbais *-du* e *-da*, que se afixam ao verbo e interagem com os outros morfemas de TMA disponíveis na língua da mesma forma que na voz ativa. Para além disso, também se assume que o Caboverdiano só permite passivas curtas e que, embora o Agente da passiva esteja bloqueado fonologicamente, este está implícito. De forma a dar conta desta propriedade da passiva no caboverdiano, esta tese propõe, na sequência de Kratzer (1996), Marantz (1984), Sailor and Ahn (2010), Pratas (2014), a existência de um núcleo Voice em todas as orações finitas, excepto as inacusativas, que é responsável por introduzir o argumento externo. Defende-se nesta dissertação que a este núcleo VoiceP se aplica um Filtro Doubly Filled Comp (Koopman, 1997). Este filtro determina que numa dada projeção funcional, apenas o núcleo ou o especificador pode estar preenchido fonologicamente, nunca os dois. No caso das passivas, o que se propõe é que o argumento externo está em Spec,Voice e que, embora sintaticamente ativo, não é expreso. A morfologia de passiva é lexicalizada em Voice⁰. A explicação proposta para que, no caso das passivas, a morfologia de passiva esteja lexicalizada e o argumento externo não reside no facto de Voice⁰ ser um núcleo funcional forte, que segundo Costa e Martins (2004) tem de ser visível em PF. Esta restrição, combinada com o filtro Doubly Filled Comp, impõe que Spec,Voice não seja lexicalizado.

Palavras-chave: Caboverdiano, Passivas eventivas, Sintaxe, *by*-phrase

1. Introduction

The present dissertation intends to provide a description of passives in Capeverdean, a Portuguese-based Creole language. Creole languages have been subject to some description and analysis since their formation; however, it was not until recent decades that these languages have been studied beyond the mere curiosity or under a perspective that sees them as independent of their lexifiers. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that, in the case of Capeverdean, despite the great efforts of many authors, some crucial elements of its grammar have not been object of a more thorough description and analysis. This is the case of passives.

So far, and though some authors have given some attention to this matter (Lopes da Silva, 1957; Almada, 1961; Veiga, 1995, 2000; Baptista, 2002; Lang et al., 2002; Pratas, 2007; Quint, 2000), there is not an exhaustive and systematic description of passives in Capeverdean. Therefore, one of the main goals of this study is to expand the previous works on passives and to provide data that can be relevant for future studies of the language.

In this dissertation, I argue that there are passives in Capeverdean that are verbal/eventive in nature with distinguishable features. Thus, this thesis focuses on the description of the lexical, morphological, semantic and syntactic features of eventive passives of the Santiago variety of Capeverdean.

This description reveals that in Capeverdean there is a specific morphology to form passives. The language has two post-verbal morphemes, *-du* and *-da*, that are affixed to the verb to form passives. These two morphemes combine with the Tense, Mood and Aspect morphemes available in the language to convey the different temporal interpretations, just as it happens in the active voice.

One of the most interesting aspects of eventive passives in Capeverdean is that it seems that the language does not allow a morphological *by*-phrase, which means that it only allows short passives. Therefore, one of the main goals of this dissertation is to present a proposal that can account for this property of Capeverdean passives. In order to accomplish this goal, I will resort to Kratzer (1996), Marantz (1997), Sailor & Ahn (2010) works on external arguments and Voice.

In order to account for an exhaustive description of eventive passives in Capeverdean, through the course of this dissertation I will resort to two different sources of data: (i) previous works from different authors and (ii) data collected with native speakers of Capeverdean,¹ mainly through grammaticality judgments.

1.1. Variety of Santiago

Although so far there is not a dialectal map of the varieties of this Creole language, it is assumed and some studies demonstrate that there are phonological and morphosyntactic differences in the Capeverdean spoken in the archipelago. These differences are normally set into two large dialectal groups (Veiga, 2000: 9), the Barlavento (windward) varieties and the Sotavento (leeward) varieties (in which the Santiago variety is included).

In this dissertation, the focus of the description will be on the Santiago variety of the language, which is the oldest variety of Capeverdean, since the island of Santiago was the first to be discovered and inhabited. The decision to restrict the study only to Santiago variant was essentially for a matter of clarification and delimitation of the object of study. However, I would like to make clear that this choice does not indicate in any circumstance that this dissertation claims for the existence of more than one Creole in Cape Verde. Nonetheless, it would be very interesting in the future to make a broader study with data from the varieties of Capeverdean and determine some dialectal variation that may exist regarding passivization.

1.2. Data

In this dissertation, most of the description is based on data collected from three native speakers. Despite being a productive structure in Capeverdean, the frequency of eventive passives in the language seems very low. Therefore, it was more effective to elicitate data, asking the native speakers to either produce eventive passives from an active sentence or to evaluate the grammaticality of some clauses. Another source of

¹ My consultants were all native speakers of the Santiago variety of Capeverdean.

data for this dissertation was some previous works by other authors, which will be referred whenever it is opportune.

1.3. Outline of the Dissertation

The present dissertation is composed of 5 chapters, which are divided in numerated subsections. The outline is as follows: **Chapter Two** presents the main properties described in the literature for eventive passives, followed by a presentation of the contrast between eventive passives and adjectival passives. Furthermore, the status of the *by*-phrase in passive is discussed, providing the state of the art concerning the studies of passives. **Chapter Three** provides a description of the passives in Capeverdean, focusing on morphological properties, syntactic and semantic constraints, as well as a contrast between eventive passives and adjectival and impersonal passives. **Chapter Four** centers on the question of the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean and presents a proposal that accounts for this property. Finally, **Chapter 5** presents the conclusions of this dissertation and some final remarks.

2. Passives

The definition of passive has not been a pacific matter in Linguistic studies, since it involves a set of lexical, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic properties that vary from language to language. This chapter focuses on the description of the main properties of passive constructions and it is organized as follows: in section 2.1, I identify the main properties of the eventive passives; in section 2.2, I will present the main features of adjectival passives in contrast to verbal passives; in 2.3 the focus is on the status of the *by*-phrase that has been subject to different analysis; section 2.4 provides a summary of the main proposals for the analysis of passives that are considered essential to the description we intend to make in the present dissertation; finally, section 2.5 consists on a summary of the current chapter.

2.1. Eventive passives properties

Different authors have looked into passives from different perspectives or else taking into account a specific language. A passive can be defined as a structure where “a situation is presented through the perspective of the entity that holds the theta-role of the internal argument”² (Duarte, 2003: 507):

- (1) a. John broke the eggs.
- b. The eggs were broken.
- c. The eggs were broken by John.

Although there is a clear similarity between these two sentences in terms of meaning, some differences can be easily pointed out:

- I) The Noun Phrase (NP) that holds the direct object syntactic function in (1.a) is in the subject position in (1.b).

² My translation.

- II) The NP that holds the subject syntactic function in (1.a) is introduced by the preposition “by” in (1.c).
- III) The morphology of the verb is affected, assuming a participial form, and the verb is preceded by a *copula*.

It has been assumed that these two sentences are related somehow, therefore, traditionally, passive constructions have been defined taking into account their active counterparts. Thus, a passive is assumed to be a construction where the Noun Phrase (NP) with the direct object syntactic function in the active sentence moves to the subject position in the passive. This movement is triggered once the verb is passivized, thus losing the ability to assign Accusative case to its internal argument, a feature that passive verbs share with unaccusative verbs. Unaccusative verbs are all those verbs which do not have the ability to assign Accusative Case.

Since every NP in a sentence must be assigned a case, the NP with the function of direct object in the active sentence moves to the subject position and it is assigned Nominative case. However, the NP in the subject position in (1.b) does not express the agentivity normally associated to this position in sentences with dynamic verbs. Nonetheless, we can intuitively know that there is an underlying Agent. The presence of this underlying Agent can be proved by adding an Agent-oriented adverb, like in (1.d):

(1) d. The eggs were broken *on purpose*.

In most languages, like in English for instance, the Agent can be explicit in the S-structure as a Prepositional Phrase: a preposition followed by the Noun Phrase that had the subject position in the active version:

(1) e. The eggs were broken *by John*.

This also shows that, despite the changes in terms of syntactic functions from the active to its passive counterpart, there seems to be no change concerning the theta-role assignment. This means that the subject of the passive has always the same theta-role as the direct object in the active, and that the NP in the *by*-phrase has always the theta-role of the external argument in the active. The optionality of the *by*-phrase has been subject

to much scrutiny regarding its status, namely if it is an adjunct or an argument. This question will be addressed further, in section 2.4.

Another crucial question regarding passives is the predicate type, since not every verb can be passivized. If languages have passives, they have passives with transitive verbs and most will not allow passives with unacusatives or inergatives (Keenan & Dryer, 2007: 329). Verbs like *cost* or *weight*, when they select a subject with a Theme theta-role, do not form good passives. Also, stative verbs that denote possession are excluded. Observe the examples from English and Portuguese³:

English:

- (2) **John was fainted*
- (3) **Mary was talked by John*
- (4) **200 pounds are weighed by John.*
- (5) **30 euros are cost by this shirt.*
- (6) **Five books are had by John.*

Portuguese:

- (7) **O João foi tossido (pelo fumo)*
- (8) **O telhado foi caído (pelo vendaval)*
- (9) **O espectáculo foi gostado (pelos críticos)*
- (10) **O João foi telefonado (pelo Pedro).*
- (11) **85 kilos foram pesados pelo João quando tinha trinta anos.*
- (12) **2.50 m são medidos pelo móvel.*

In this general description, it is perceived that, concerning passives, there are lexical, morphological, semantic and syntactical elements that play a relevant role and have been object of many studies for several languages which have led to discussions about what is passive and what is not. The critical discussion has been centered on some features such as: the syntactic representation of passives in order to account for the Theta-role and Case assignment; types of predicates that can be passivized; the canonical length of passives and the status of the *by*-phrase in passive constructions as

³ All the examples in Portuguese are from Duarte (2003: 529).

well as the status of the Past Participle and its implication in the formation of verbal passives and adjectival passives.

In the next section, the main features of adjectival passives will be presented. These passives share some similarities with eventive passives. Because of these similarities, the distinction between these two types of passives is not always clear and much of the discussion has centered on this matter.

2.2. Adjectival passives

In order to provide a consistent description of how passives work in Capeverdean, it is very important to account for the properties which define a verbal passive. No less important is to discuss the differences between these passives and those of the adjectival sort. The distinction has been a matter of numerous studies with different approaches.

Considering the classic distinction between adjectival passives and verbal passives the following has been assumed:

- a) Verbal passives admit *by*-phrases, instrumental PPs and subject-oriented adverbs, while adjectival passives do not. Note the examples:

- (13) a. Mary was invited by my mother.
b. The floor was washed with a special product.
c. The car was smashed on purpose.

- (14) a. *The situation is complicated by John.
b. *The bridge is open with a kick.
c. *John is dead on purpose.

- b) Adjectival passives can appear as complements to some verbs, such as *remain*, *look* or *seem*, and as secondary complements in resultative constructions, while verbal passives cannot.

- (15) a. The door was built open.

- b. The metal was hammered flat.
- (16) a. *The door was built opened
- b. *The metal was hammered flattened.

Embick, 2004: 356

This approach has been criticized, namely by Embick (2004), who assumes that there can only be one generative component in the grammar, the syntax. This means that the difference between kinds of passives has to be explained by identifying their specific structures and features. Embick (2004) considers that the adjectival vs. verbal passive typology is not enough to account for the different structures of participles in these two constructions. He proposes that adjectival passives should be split into two types: the ones that are stative in nature (which corresponds to the traditional view of adjectival passives) and the ones that express a resultative component from an event.

The author thus assumes that there are verbal passives, which he refers to generally as *Eventive*, and two different types of adjectival passives: *stative* passives and *resultative* passives.

- (17) a. The door was opened.

Two readings are available:

- 1. Someone opened the door. (*eventive reading*)
- 2. The door became in an “opened” state. (*resultative reading*)
- b. The door was open. (*stative reading*)

Embick, 2004: 356

Embick points out four contexts that motivate the distinction between stative passives and resultative passives.

The first one concerns the fact that resultatives may take subject-oriented adverbs in certain contexts, which is not possible with stative passives:

- (18) a. The package remained carefully opened.
- b. *The package remained carefully open.

Embick, 2004: 357

The second context refers to the fact that, while *stative* passives can occur after a verb of creation such as *build* or *create*, resultatives cannot:

- (19) a. The door was built open.
b. *This door was built opened.

Embick, 2004: 357

The third syntactic context that distinguishes stative and resultative participles is the ability for stative passives to appear as secondary predicates of result:

- (20) a. John kicked the door open/*opened
b. John drank the glass empty/*emptied

Embick, 2004: 359

The fourth and last context is related to *un*-prefixation. Normally, it has been assumed that adjectival passives take *un*-prefixation and verbal passives do not, following Levin & Rappaport (1986) diagnostic tests. According to Embick, it is not adjectival participles in general but more specifically resultative participles that take *un*-prefixation freely. Stative passives do not:

Stative participles

*Un-rotten

*Un-shaven

Resultative participles

Un-rotted

Unshaved

Embick, 2004: 358

Though most of the description has taken into account data from English, some studies concluded that Embick's typology can be applied to other languages, such as Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008) for Greek and Duarte & Oliveira (2010) for Portuguese.

As for Portuguese, Duarte & Oliveira (2010) claim that in Portuguese the typology is valid. Consider the following data⁴:

⁴ Duarte & Oliveira (2010: 401).

- (21)
- a. O exemplo foi corrigido por um falante nativo.
 - b. O exemplo ficou corrigido.
 - c. O exemplo está correcto.

According to the authors, example (21.a) is an eventive passive, (21.b) a copulative sentence with *ficar* (resultative passive in Embick's typology) and finally (21.c) is a copulative sentence with *estar* (stative passive in Embick's typology). As in English, *Eventive passives* in Portuguese control subjects of final phrases and allow *by-phrases* and Agent-oriented adverbs, while resultatives do not:

- (22)
- a. O exemplo foi corrigido por um falante nativo.
 - b. O exemplo foi corrigido propositadamente.
 - c. O exemplo foi corrigido com tinta azul.
 - d. O exemplo foi corrigido por um falante nativo para mostrar a pronúncia correcta.
- (23)
- a. *O exemplo ficou corrigido por um falante nativo.
 - b. *O exemplo ficou corrigido propositadamente (pelo autor).
 - c. ?O exemplo ficou corrigido com tinta azul.
 - d. *O exemplo ficou corrigido por um falante nativo para mostrar a pronúncia correcta.

Duarte & Oliveira, 2010: 401

Stative passives, on the other hand, can be complement to some creation verbs, while *Resultatives* and *Eventives* cannot:

- (24)
- a. Construiu-se o *bunker* oculto.
 - b. *Construiu-se o bunker ocultado.

Portuguese allows *un*-prefixation (*i(n)-m* in Portuguese) only with stative passives, contrary to English, that allows *un*-prefixations with *resultatives* and rarely with *statives*:

Stative

Incompleto

Incorrecto

Inculto

Resultative

*incompletado

*incorrigido

*incultivado

The next section presents the different perspectives concerning the status of the *by*-phrase in passive sentences.

2.3. The status of the *by*-phrase

In a passive, the *by*-phrase introduces the NP that is interpreted as the subject in the active, as shown by example (25.b). However, as it was stated before, the *by*-phrase can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the passive sentence:

- (25) a. Mary ate the chocolate muffin.
b. The chocolate muffin was eaten (by Mary).

In the active counterpart, it is clear that the subject is the external argument of the verb. The same does not, however, happen in the passive. As Goodall (1997) states, the fact that the *by*-phrase is optional is not a typical behavior of an argument. Moreover, the *by*-phrase can even appear to the right of arguments and adjuncts:

- (26) a. The books were returned to the store by John.
b. The books were returned on Thursday by John.

Goodall, 1997: 130

This behavior has led to different classifications of the *by*-phrase in the literature. Jaeggli (1986), for instance, states that the *by*-phrase is an element that is subcategorized by the passive morpheme. When the morpheme is attached to the verb it is responsible for the theta assignment of the NP in the *by*-phrase via some sort of theta-role transmission. Therefore, for Jaeggli, the *by*-phrase is an argument of the passive morpheme and not of the verb. Likewise, Roberts (1987) proposes that the *by*-phrase

has always the same theta-role that is attributed to the subject in the active voice and that when it is not expressed morphologically, it is implicit. He considers that the *by*-phrase is semantically an argument and structurally an adjunct. Grimshaw (1990), on her turn, proposes that the *by*-phrase is an *a-adjunct*. According to her, the fact that the *by*-phrase cannot be omitted in certain passives does not favor an analysis where the *by*-phrase is an argument of the active verb. Grimshaw (1990) states that all the *by*-phrases are optional, except for those that occur with verbs with a complex structure that involves two sub-events, an activity and a state, like verbs of creation, such as *build* or *construct*.

Goodall (1997: 133) considers that, despite some behavior that may lead to classify it as an adjunct, the *by*-phrase is in fact the external argument of the verb. According to the author, English provides evidence for such an analysis, namely through ellipsis and *so*-anaphora. In a deletion operation, arguments must be included in the ellipsis in order to form a grammatical sentence (27.a). Concerning the *so*-anaphora, the arguments must be included when *so* refers back to a verb projection (28.a):

- (27) a. Will the books be returned?
 b. Yes, they will _ on Thursday.
 c. *Yes, they will be to the store.
 d. ?*Yes, they will be _ by John.

- (28) a. The books were returned on Wednesday and so were the magazines on Thursday.
 b. *John returned some books to the store and so did Mary to the warehouse.

Goodall, 1997: 133-35

Duarte (2003) and Santos (1999), for Portuguese, adopt much of the perspective assumed by Goodall. Note that Duarte (2003: 526) provides data that sustains the same behavior of the *by*-phrase in anaphora contexts in Portuguese:

- (29) O João devolveu os livros [no domingo]_{adjunct} e a Maria fez o mesmo [no sábado]_{adjunct}.

- (30) *O João levou os livros [para a biblioteca]_{arg} e a Maria fez o mesmo [para a livraria]_{arg}
- (31) Os livros foram devolvidos [no domingo]_{adjunct} e o mesmo aconteceu às revistas [no sábado]_{adjunct}
- (32) *Os livros foram comprados [pelo João]_{arg} e aconteceu o mesmo às revistas [pela Maria]_{arg}.

Moreover, according to Santos (1999: 88), it is possible to extract the *by*-phrase out of a *wh*-island in languages like English, Portuguese, French or Spanish, a movement that is not possible with adjuncts:

a) Factive islands

- (33) Por quem_i lamentas que o livro tenha sido escrito t_i ?
- (34) Por que pessoa_i lamentas que o livro tenha sido escrito t_i ?
- (35) A quem_i lamentas ter conseguido falar t_i ?
- (36) A que pessoa_i lamentas ter conseguido falar t_i ?
- (37) O que_i lamentas ter dito t_i ?
- (38) Que mentira_i lamentas ter dito t_i ?
- (39) Quem_i lamentas que t_i tenha perdido o jogo?
- (40) Que menino_i lamentas que t_i tenha perdido o jogo?
- (41) *Como/ *Em que dia_i lamentas que a Raquel tenha estragado o jogo t_i ?

b) Islands created by extraposition

- (42) Por quem_i é necessário que sejas contestado t_i ?
- (43) Por que pessoa_i é necessário que sejas contestado t_i ?
- (44) A quem_i é necessário entregar o trabalho t_i ?
- (45) A que cliente_i é necessário entregar o trabalho t_i ?
- (46) O que_i é necessário dizer t_i ao João?
- (47) Que mentira_i é necessário dizer t_i ao João?
- (48) Quem_i é necessário que t_i escreva este texto?
- (49) Que jornalista_i é necessário que t_i escreva este texto?
- (50) *Como_i / *Em que dia_i é necessário que o João arranje o carro t_i ?

The following section briefly presents some of the theories that have been elaborated in order to account for a description and analysis of passives in natural languages.

2.4. Proposals to account for passives cross-linguistically

From the various approaches on passives, this dissertation will focus on those that can help to account for the properties of Capeverdean. Concerning the syntactic representation of passives, and theta-role and Case assignment, Jaeggli (1986) argues that the passive morpheme absorbs the thematic-role, which prohibits the verb to assign Accusative case. This motivates the A-movement of the direct-object of the active to the subject position in the passive. Collins (2005), on the contrary, claims that Theta-role and Case in the passive cannot be assigned differently from the active, which is why he proposes a structure with a functional node specifically for Voice, and the Smuggling of the whole ν P into VP in order to form passives without any special rule. Gehrke and Grillo (2005), despite being in line with much of Collins (2009) approach on passives, propose that the formation of passives is triggered by the Event structure of the verbs themselves, an approach that allows explaining not only the case assignment but also why some verbs can be passivized and others cannot.

2.4.1. Passive morpheme as an argument – NP movement

In the framework assumed by Jaeggli (1986), the lexicon is formed by a set of lexical entries with a set of syntactic and semantic information associated to each entry. One feature associated with verbs, for instance, is the syntactic subcategorization, which includes the information concerning the number of arguments for each verb⁵. According to this perspective, three classes of verbs have been distinguished: transitive, ditransitive and intransitive verbs. If a Verb Phrase (VP) has a transitive verb as its head, it takes one argument (the direct object, e.g.: *drink*); if it has a ditransitive verb as its head, it takes two arguments (the direct object NP and the indirect object NP/PP, e.g.: *give*); if it

⁵ Jaeggli (1986: 588) explains that, besides the verb's internal arguments, there is an external argument, but, unlike the others, this one is an argument of the whole predicate phrase.

has an intransitive verb as its head, it takes no argument at all (e.g.: *sleep*). The fact that the verb fits in one category or the other follows from the verb itself (Haegeman, 1991: 33). Therefore, traditionally, verbs are said to have an Argument grid.

However, this inner property is not a matter of chance but rather related to the action or state that the verb represents. For instance, in the action of *give*, logically there is an entity who actively gives something to other entity who passively receives whatever was given. Clearly, these arguments relate differently to the verb, they play different roles, which means that there is some sort of semantic information related to this argument structure. The Theta-role theory describes the semantic relationships between the verbs and their arguments and names them Thematic-roles or Theta-roles. Let us consider the following examples:

(51) Mary stole a pencil.

NP ₁	V	NP ₂		[Argument grid]
-----------------	---	-----------------	--	-----------------

Agent	V	Patient		[Thematic grid]
-------	---	---------	--	-----------------

(52) Mary gave John a book.

NP ₁	V	NP ₂	NP ₃		[Argument grid]
-----------------	---	-----------------	-----------------	--	-----------------

Agent	V	Beneficiary	Patient		[Thematic grid]
-------	---	-------------	---------	--	-----------------

(53) Mary is sleeping.

NP ₁	V			[Argument grid]
-----------------	---	--	--	-----------------

Experiencer	V			[Thematic grid]
-------------	---	--	--	-----------------

Let's take the example (51). On the one hand, it is a verb that selects one internal argument and one external argument; on the other hand, it requires an entity that intentionally practices the action of stealing, an Agent, and a thing that undergoes the action expressed by the verb *stole*, a Patient. This means that a verb assigns theta-roles to each of its arguments. According to the Theta-role Theory, every overt NP of a sentence must be assigned a theta-role; otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

Theta Criterion

- a) Each argument is assigned one and only one theta-role.
- b) Each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

Haegeman, 1991: 63

Let us now go back to example (1.a) reproduced hereby:

- (54) a. John broke the eggs.
 b. The eggs were broken.

The D-structure of (54.b) can be designed as in (55):

- (55) [IP e [_{I'} were [_{vP} [_{v'} broken[the eggs]]]]⁶

Jaeggli (1986) assumes that the passive morpheme is an argument and therefore must be assigned a case and a theta-role. According to this author, when a verb is in the passive, the passive morphology (in this case, the English passive morpheme *en*) absorbs the theta-role that was assigned to the NP occupying the subject position in the active sentence. The Theta Criterion states that a theta-role can only be assigned once. However, it also states that theta-roles can only be assigned to visible NPs. As Haegeman (1991: 171) states, referring to Jaeggli (1986) and Roberts (1987), passive verbs also absorb the Accusative case of their complement. This means that in (55) the NP “*the eggs*” lacks case. There is a rule in Case Theory, the Case Filter, which states the following:

Case Filter

Every overt NP must be assigned (abstract) case. (Chomsky, 1986a: 74)

According to the Case Filter, this sentence violates the Case Filter because “*the eggs*” is an overt NP to which no case has been assigned. It has been proposed that the Case Filter is related to the Theta Theory. As we have seen, the theta criterion determines that all NPs must be assigned a theta-role. However, for that to happen the NPs must be visible, and it is the abstract case that renders NPs visible (Haegeman, 1991: 177). This means that “*the eggs*” also lacks a theta-role.

In 1986, Burzio systematized this relationship between these two properties by proposing a descriptive generalization:

⁶ Example adapted from Haegeman (1991).

Burzio's Generalization

- a) A verb which lacks an external argument fails to assign Accusative case. (Burzio, 1986: 178-9)
- b) A verb which fails to assign Accusative case fails to theta-mark an external argument (Burzio, 1986: 184).

This observation seems to pose a problem concerning passivized verbs because, as said before, these verbs cannot assign Accusative case to the NP that was in the direct object position in the active sentence and, therefore, they fail to theta-mark this same NP because of the visibility requirement. What happens is that the NP moves (NP Movement) to the subject position, which is left empty once the verb is in the passive, and there it acquires Nominative case. Thus, the Case Filter is respected. However, even though the NP moves and is assigned Nominative case, there seems to be no change concerning the theta-role assignment to this NP. Note example (1), repeated below:

- (56) a. John broke the eggs.
 b. The eggs were broken.

Although “*the eggs*”, in (56.b), is assigned Nominative case, typical of an A-position, it is still theta-marked as Patient. According to the Theta-role Theory, the internal arguments of a verb must be theta-marked under government. In (56.b), “*the eggs*” is clearly not under the verb’s government, so the pertinent question is: How does the subject of the passive preserve the theta-role that has been assigned to it in the active sentence? A more elaborated version of the Theta Criterion was elaborated by Chomsky (1986a) in order to account for this. According to this author, when the NP “*the eggs*” moves to the subject position in the passive, it leaves a trace inside the VP, in the position it once occupied. This means that when the subject of the passive moves to acquire Nominative case it remains linked or co-indexed with its trace, thus preserving its theta-role.

Theta Criterion: Each argument A appears in a chain containing a unique visible theta position P, and each Theta position P is visible in a chain containing a unique argument A. A position P is visible in a chain if the chain has a case-marked position. (Chomsky, 1986a: 97)

Concerning the *by*-phrase, Jaeggli (1986) proposes that it is assigned the external theta-role by transmission, while Baker, *et al.* (1989) propose that it receives its theta-role from the morpheme through a movement chain.

2.4.2. A new approach to passives: Smuggling

There are many works that later criticized Jaeggli (1986) and Baker, *et al.* (1989) analysis of passives as an argument-A movement triggered by case and theta-role absorption by the passive morpheme. Goodall (1997) points out that claiming that the passive morpheme is an argument, therefore requiring case and a theta-role, does not account for the cross-linguistic diversity concerning these properties. According to this author, the relationship between case assignment and theta-role absorption and assignment proposed by Jaeggli (1986) and Baker, *et al.* (1989), and systematized by Burzio (1986), does not hold in a lot of languages such as German, for instance, which behaves like English with transitive verbs but allows passives with intransitives, which do not require case absorption:

- (57) a. Es wurde getanzt.
It was dance. PART.
It was danced.

Goodall, 1997: 34

According to Goodall (1997), even if the passive morpheme is analyzed as behaving more like an incorporated noun, than like a full NP – as suggested by Baker, *et al.* (1989) – it does not support the thesis of the external theta-role absorption because languages like Finnish or Kannada have data that contradict this parallelism.

Collins (2005: 83), on the other hand, states that the main problem of Jaeggli's (1986) analysis is that the way this author proposes the external theta-role to be assigned in the passive is very different from the way the external theta-role is assigned in the active. According to Collins (2005: 83), this violates completely the Uniformity of Theta-role Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), which states that items with identical thematic relationships are represented in D-structure with the exact same structural

relationships. This means that the external theta-role cannot be assigned through Spec IP in the active and via theta-role transmission in the passive. This assumption would involve a specific rule for passivization, contrary to the Principles and Parameters Model (Chomsky, 1981).

Given this observation, Collins (2005) points out three assumptions concerning passives, which are at the core of his proposal: (i) the passive suffix is not an argument; (ii) there is no reason for the passive morphology to attribute case; (iii) past participles of active and passive sentences are the same. Considering these assumptions, Collins (2005) proposes a derivation for passives that does not predict any special rule for passivization. Thus, the derivation for passives is presented by Collins (2005) as follows:

- a) The external theta-role is assigned in the passive exactly in the same way as in the active: the external argument is merged into Spec ν P and the Accusative case is checked by the *by*-phrase, which is merged immediately above ν P. This predicts that the theta-role is not absorbed by the passive morphology.
- b) The participle suffix *-en* heads PartP and V moves to adjoin PartP forming the past participle. PartP is the complement of V that on its turn takes a ν P complement.

This derivation would result in the following structure:

$$(58) [\nu P \text{ DP } [\nu' \nu [\text{PartP en } [\text{VP V DP }]]]]$$

Collins, 2005: 85

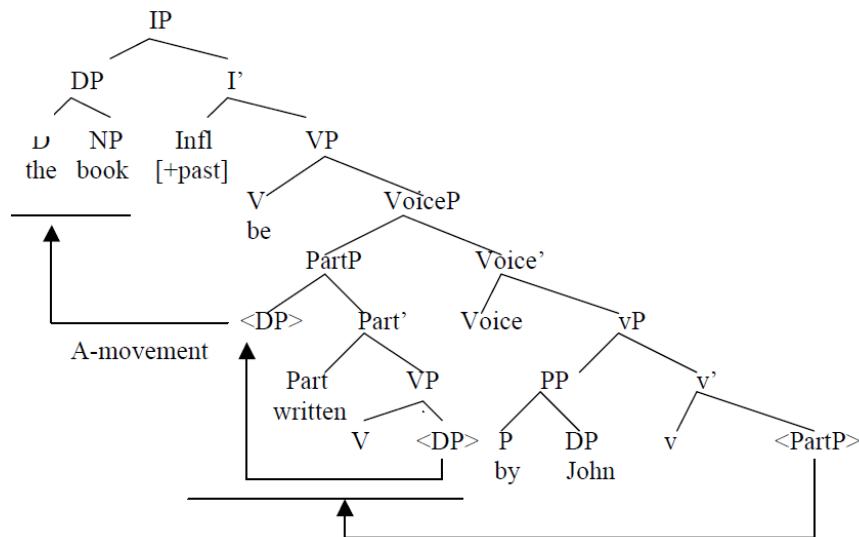
However, Collins (2005: 5) states that this derivation results in the wrong word order assuming that in English heads precede Complements:

$$(59) * \text{The book was by John written.}$$

Collins (2005) claims then the existence of a functional node VoiceP composed by only uninterpretable features and the XP movement of PartP into VoiceP so that

VoiceP is headed by the participle morpheme and that *v* moves to Spec VoiceP position in order to form the past participle. This way, the structure of the passive would be as follows:

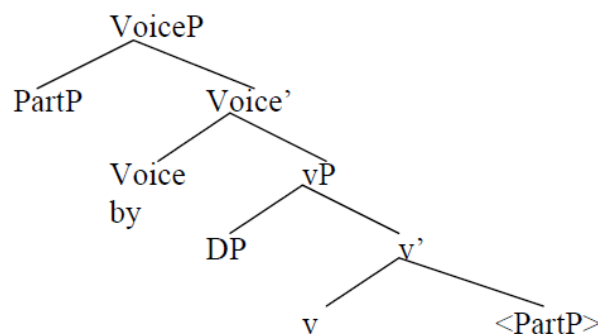
(60)



Collins, 2005: 89

This analysis nonetheless raises some problems, according to Collins (2005), mainly concerning the status of the *by*-phrase. As he observes, it is normally a DP and not a PP that is generated in Spec *v*P in the active. Also, assuming the derivation of passives through processes of merging, why is it that the *by*-phrase is only possible as an external argument and not in other positions? Collins proposes then that there is no PP and that *by* is the head of VoiceP:

(61)



Collins, 2005: 93

Recall that Collins assumes that the passive morphology does not absorb neither the external theta-role nor the Accusative case. This analysis proposes that the external theta-role is assigned in Spec *vP* and that the Accusative case is checked by the *by*-phrase and *by* is the head of VoiceP. This assumption, observes Collins, raises a locality problem, since the movement of the internal argument over the external argument violates the Relativized Minimality effect⁷ (Rizzi, 1990, 2001). To preserve the Relativized Minimality effect, Collins (2005: 91) proposes the smuggling of the whole VP internal argument past over *vP*. According to this author, this allows the internal argument to be the closest to Spec TP, and therefore to be the one promoted to the subject position in the passive.

Collins (2005) defines *smuggling* as follows:

Suppose a constituent YP contains XP. Furthermore suppose that XP is inaccessible to Z because of the presence of W (a barrier, a phase boundary, or an intervener for the Minimal Link Condition and/or Relativized Minimality) which blocks a syntactic relation between Z and XP (...). If YP moves to a position c-commanding W, we say that YP smuggles XP past W. (Collins, 2005: 95)

2.4.3. Gerhke & Grillo (2009)

Gehrke & Grillo (2009) adopt most of Collins proposal although with a different approach to the data, which leads to different predictions. The authors consider that Collins' smuggling proposal raises many questions concerning, for instance, the status of Smuggling in the theory or the lack of a trigger for the first movement. Also, they argue that Collins (2005) proposal does not account for data such as (62), where there is passivization without movement of the internal argument into Spec TP:

(62) There was a Suabian killed.

Gehrke & Grillo, 2009: 235

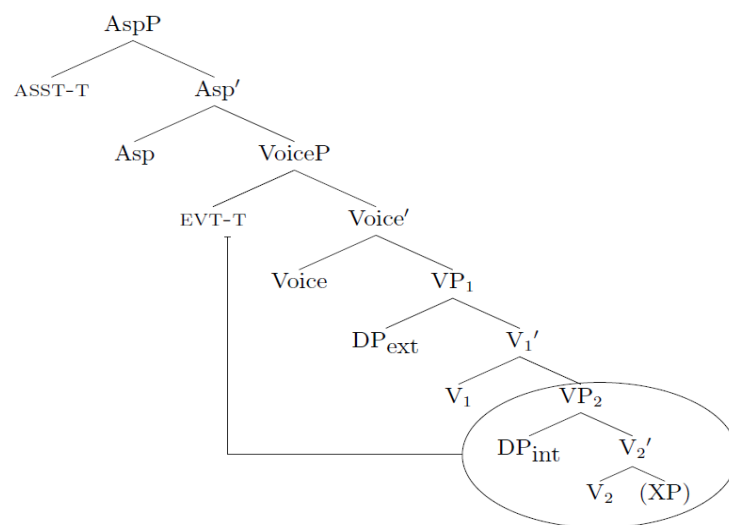
⁷ Y is in a Minimal Configuration with X if there is no Z such that:
 (i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
 (ii) Z intervenes between X and Y. (Rizzi, 2001)

According to these authors, the focus on passives should be on Event structure rather than on Argument structure. Hence, Gehrke & Grillo propose that in passivization there is the promotion of a result-state of a complex event to a position above VP, a movement that is independent from the promotion of an internal argument to subjecthood.

Gerhke & Grillo (2009) resort to Dowty's (1979) and Vendler's (1967) work that assume that event types or predicate types can be split into different categories - activities, achievements, accomplishments and states (under Vendler's typology) , and that these event types can be decomposed into smaller events: CAUSE, DO and BECOME. Therefore, event types can correspond to one simple event or a combination of sub-events.

According to Gerhke & Grillo (2009) only event types with the BECOME component (normally achievements and accomplishments) can form passives, in other words, events with a consequent/result-state sub-event. Following Travis (2000) proposal of a complex shell event structure, where a V_2 introduces the consequent state sub-event and the Theme argument, and a V_1 corresponds to the causing sub-event and the external argument, Gehrke & Grillo (2009: 336) propose that in passives the consequent state sub-event (in V_2) moves into VoiceP, a movement motivated by two triggers: (i) some sort of discourse related motivation similar to topicalization that singles out the consequent result-state sub-event; (ii) a quantificational motivation which turns the sub-event readable to the next phase.

(63)



Gerhke & Grillo, 2009: 236

Gehrke & Grillo (2009) consider that this movement is subjacent to all passive constructions. The fact that this is an independent operation from the one resulting in the internal argument movement to subject position allows to explain problems raised by Collins (2005) such as the motivation for movement, or passivization of existential predicates, such as in (62). Equally, it rightly predicts the fact that some transitive verbs allow passives while others do not. Complex transitive predicates that involve a result-state sub-event form good passives, while simple transitive predicates with no BECOME component do not. Observe the contrast examples the authors propose to illustrate their predictions:

- (64) a. The lion killed the antelope
- b. The antelope was killed
- (65) a. This laptop weighted 2 kilos.
- b.*Two kilos were weighted (by this laptop)

Gehrke & Grillo, 2009: 241

Yet, the authors draw attention to the fact that the grammaticality of passives with states may pose a problem to their account for passives since these predicates do not involve a complex event. Note the examples:

- (66) The house is owned / surrounded by the army.
- (67) The answer / myth is known / believed by the pupils.
- (68) Adriana is loved (by Luigi).

Gehrke & Grillo, 2009:244

Nevertheless, they enhance that passives in state predicates are not a general feature of statives but rather a specific phenomenon restricted to some stative predicates that share similarities with events with a BECOME component, a feature identified by Rizzi & Belletti (1988). Rizzi & Belletti (1988) separated the so called psych-verbs into three categories: the *fear*-type, the *appeal*-type and the *worry*-type.

Regarding passivization, only the *fear*-type verbs allow passives. Verbs of this category such as *know* or *own* imply an inchoative meaning, as stressed by Gehrke & Grillo (2009: 245), of *got to know/own* to a *knowing* and *owning* state. This secondary

predication of these stative verbs allows them to form good passives while the *appeal*-type verbs (such as *appeal* or *escape*) do not, because they only have one simple event without any inchoative meaning. Note the examples:

- (69) a. The news worried / surprised / excited Max.
b. Max was worried / surprised / excited (by the news)
- (70) a. The solution appeals to me / escapes me.
b. I am appealed / escaped by the solution.

Reinhart, 2002

2.4.4. Bruening (2012)

As it was stated before, the *by*-phrase has always been a key point in the study of passives, and Bruening (2012) proposes an analysis for passives that tries to solve many questions related to the *by*-phrase: how it is selected, projected and its status on passives and nominalizations. Bruening (2012) claims that *by*-phrases should be treated uniformly in the analysis, regardless whether they are present or not in a passive or in a nominalization. Additionally, the fact that the *by*-phrase is always optional demands for an analysis that accounts for the *by*-phrase when it is present and when it is absent. As Bruening (2012: 13) notes, following authors like Williams (1987) and Partee (1989), the implied argument of a passive cannot ever be controlled or bound:

- (71) John wants Mary to be seen. (cannot mean ‘John wants to see Mary’)
- (72) Every journalist₁ wants the president to be interviewed. (cannot mean ‘by him₁’)

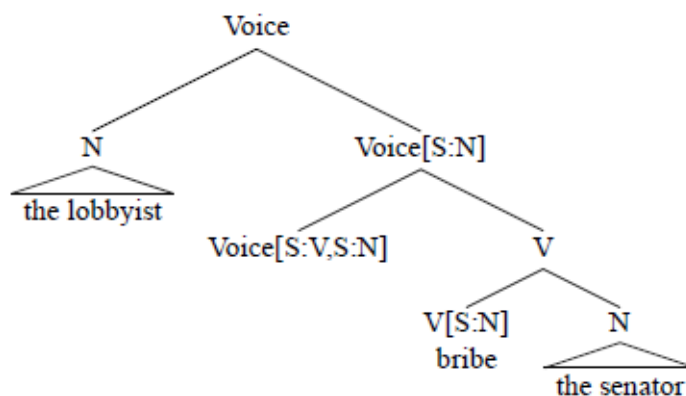
Bruening 2012: 13

Nonetheless, when the *by*-phrase is not absent, the complement of *by* can be controlled and bound:

- (73) John₁ wants Mary to be seen by him₁.
- (74) Every journalist₁ wants the president to be interviewed by him₁.

Considering these facts, Bruening (2012) claims that the external argument is existentially quantified over in short passives but not in long passives. The author proposes that all finite clauses have a head Voice and that external arguments are projected above the lexical verb in this head Voice. Following Kratzer (1996), Bruening (2012: 14) assumes that transitive verbs are functions from individuals to functions from eventualities to truth values (Type). So Voice takes a function Type and adds the external argument to it, in other words, the *Initiator*. According to the author, the interpretation of this *Initiator* is determined by the lexical semantics of the verb and the internal arguments it combines with. Once the selectional feature is saturated, it stops projecting. This means that a verb that selects an object of the category N has the feature [S:N], while Voice will have the selectional feature ([S:V, S:N]). From the moment that Voice merges with V, the resulting object of V will no longer have this feature because it is already checked off. Likewise, when Voice merges with an element with the feature [S:N], it will also no longer have that feature (Bruening, 2012:14). Therefore, Bruening (2012) proposes the following derivation for active voice:

(75) Active Voice

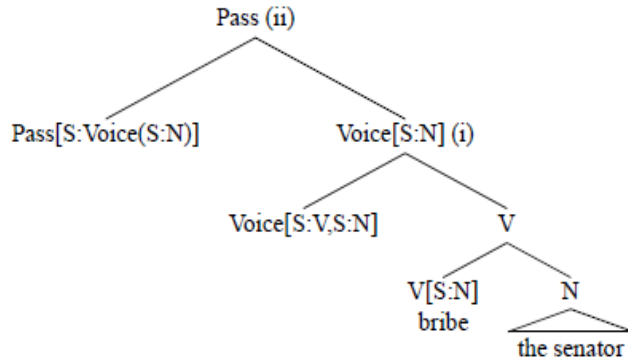


Bruening, 2012: 14

According to Bruening (2012), the passive will work the same with the distinction that passive Voice is a head Pass that selects a Voice head that is yet to project its external argument, that is, a Voice head with an unsaturated [S:N] feature. This means that Pass will saturate this [S:N] feature once it merges with Voice. However, consequently, the [S:N] feature of Voice will not project to the object that results from merging Pass to Voice. Since the external argument must necessarily be

projected, Pass will do so by existentially binding the external argument (Bruening, 2012: 16):

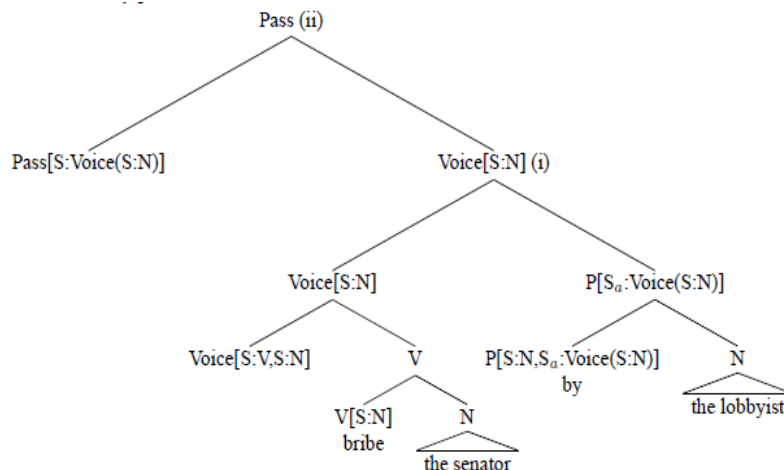
(76) *Passive Voice*



Bruening, 2012: 15

Following this derivation, Bruening (2012) assumes that, when there is no *by*-phrase, there is no need for any higher projection of tense, aspect or modal whatsoever to derive a passive interpretation. Regarding long passives, the author, despite considering the *by*-phrase an adjunct, assumes that the *by*-phrase has the selectional feature of the phrase it will adjoin to, which means that every PP involved in a *by*-phrase (and also in instrumentals and comitatives) will have the selectional feature for a projection of Voice [S:V (S:N)]. This means that the *by*-phrase will select a category with an *Initiator* role and fill it with its own internal argument. However, since the *by*-phrase is an adjunct, when it combines with an unsaturated Voice category, this second argument will be the one to project very much like Pass (Bruening, 2012: 16).

(77)



(Bruening, 2012: 17)

Additionally, Bruening (2011: 17) warns on two important aspects that allow this proposal to work:

- Although Pass could semantically attach itself to an active Voice Projection with the external argument in Spec-Voice, this option is ruled out by the fact that Pass can only attach to Voice and not to a projection of Voice with its features all checked off.
- Secondly, this structure does not allow a *by*-phrase and the external argument in Spec-Voice at the same time. The projection of Voice with a *by*-phrase adjoined is not a function that takes an individual argument. Therefore an NP cannot- be projected at Spec, Voice.

2.5. Summary of the chapter

In the present chapter, I have presented not only the main properties that have been described for passives and the necessary distinctions in terms of passive typology, but also the main proposals to account for passives across different languages. Concerning the proposals, they can be divided into two main different categories: the traditional and transformational view on passives, which predicts that passive results from a transformation occurring on actives; and the non-transformational view on actives and passives. The first one considers that the passive configuration is the result of an A-movement triggered by the absorption of the Accusative case by passive morphology. The proposals by Collins (2005), Gerhke & Grillo (2009), Sailor & Ahn (2010) and Bruening (2012) claim that the passive morphology is not an argument and it does not absorb the Accusative case. These proposals assume the existence of a VoiceP which derives the syntax of passives, although each of these authors has different approaches on VoiceP. To Collins (2005) VoiceP is projected only in passives and hosts the preposition *by* which triggers the smuggling of the VP past vP. To Sailor & Ahn (2010) and Bruening (2012) there is a VoiceP in every finite clause except for unaccusatives and they assume that the derivation of actives and passives depends on the configuration of this head.

Since this dissertation intends to study passives in Capeverdean, the main goal of the next chapter is to describe the properties of Capeverdean eventive passives. In the

following chapters, not all the theoretical proposals that have been presented so far will be taken into account, but only those that allow for an accurate approach to passives in that language. This will be done first through the main properties attributed to passives (Chomsky, 1986a), and it will be shown that Capeverdean does not share two of these properties: the need for an auxiliary verb in the passive and the emergence of the subject of the active in a *by*-phrase. Concerning syntactic and semantic restrictions, Gerhke & Grillo (2009) focus on Events rather than on Arguments will prove useful, since it will help to account for most of the semantic and syntactic restrictions that the language poses to eventive passives.

Capeverdean seems to fall into the category of languages that only allow short passives (Keenan & Dryer, 2007) since the presence of *by*-phrases results ungrammatical. This property constitutes a challenge because it demands a proposal that can derive passives with or without a *by*-phrase, which is why, further in chapter four, I will come back to Bruening's (2012) account for *by*-phrases and see if its assumptions explain the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean or, at least, shed some light on how this property of Capeverdean passives can be accounted for.

3. Passives in Capeverdean

The present chapter is centered on the description of passives in Capeverdean. The chapter is divided into three sections: 3.1 presents briefly the main features which have been pointed out for passives in Creole Languages; 3.2 focuses on the morphological properties of eventive passives in Capeverdean, while 3.3 focuses on their syntactic and semantic restrictions; 3.4 presents the features of impersonal passives in Capeverdean, while in 3.5 the focus will be on passivization in Double Object Constructions. Furthermore, section 3.6 illustrates the main features of adjectival passives as opposed to eventive passives in Capeverdean. Finally, section 3.7 presents a summary of the chapter.

3.1. Passives in Creole languages

The first descriptions of passive constructions took into account mainly European languages, which determined the list of properties that traditionally are associated to them (Chomsky, 1986).

- I) The existence of some sort of specific morphology.
- II) Some sort of *copula*.
- III) The canonical NP object appears in the subject position on S-structure.
- IV) The canonical NP subject corresponds on S-structure to an optional agentive phrase.

Although most Creoles⁸ have European languages as their lexifiers, these languages show many properties that are independent of their lexifiers, mainly in some grammatical areas. One of them is passivization. Most Creoles lack the properties II and IV: their passives do not have a copula and most of them reject an overt *by*-phrase (Winford, 2008: 25). According to Winford (2008: 25), this evidence has led many creolists either to reject the existence of passives altogether or to assume them as

⁸ When I refer to Creole languages in this dissertation, I am considering languages that formed in the context of colonization and plantation economies from the XIV century, mainly in the Atlantic Ocean.

extremely rare constructions (Roberts, 1993), or yet to classify them as “agentless constructions” (Amastae (1983) for Dominican French Creole), “ergative constructions” (Baker (1972) for Mauritian) or “goal subject sentences” (Corne (1977) for Ocean French Creoles). DeGraff (2007), for instance, recognizes that there are verbal passives in Haitian, although the language only checks two (I and III) of the above four properties:

- (78) a. *Mwen fè kabann lan rapid-rapid matin an.*
 1SG make bed DEF rapid-rapid morning DEF.
 “I made the bed very quickly this morning.”
 b. *Kabann lan fèt rapid-rapid matin an.*
 Bed DEF made rapid-rapid morning DEF.
 “The bed was made very quickly this morning.”

DeGraff, 2007: 112

According to DeGraff (2007: 112), the displacement from object position to subject position of *Kabann lan* in (78.b) and the morphology alternation between *fè* and *fèt* are very similar to what happens in English with the verb *to see*:

- (79) a. *Mary saw John.*
 b. *John was seen _ (by Mary).*

DeGraff, 2007: 112

However, he continues, these passive constructions cannot be confused with passive-like constructions like (80.b), lexical passives of an adjectival sort:

- (80) a. *Yo kraze machine lan.*
 3P demolish car DEF.
 “They have demolished the car.”
 b. *Machin lan kraze.*
 Car DEF demolished.
 “The car is demolished.”

DeGraff, 2007: 112

According to DeGraff, while passivization preserves the aspectual properties in (78.a) and (78.b), the same does not happen with the pair (80.a) and (80.b). While in (80.a) the verb *kraze* is non-stative and past, in (80.b) *kraze* is stative and present. The problem, claims DeGraff, is that in Haitian, normally, the morphological signalization of the grammatical-function change that occurs with passivization (like in *fè/fèt*) is null, which in certain contexts makes the classification of some constructions difficult.

Amastae (2003) points out similar difficulties with constructions in Dominican French Creole where logical objects appear in subject positions, but also where there seems to be no productive distinction of [+ verbal] construction or [+ adjective] and a *by*-phrase.

Next, I will provide data that shows that, in the case of Capeverdean Creole, there are verbal passives. It will be illustrated that, in fact, Capeverdean shares some similarities with other Creoles since it does not form passives with an auxiliary verb and does not allow a morphological *by*-phrase. Nonetheless, I argue that the language provides enough tools to distinguish eventive passives from adjectival passives, namely the fact that adjectival passives require a *copula* while eventive passives do not require any auxiliary verb. The next section introduces the morphological properties of Capeverdean eventive passives.

3.2. Morphological properties of Capeverdean passives

Veiga (1995: 195) refers that there are two post-verbal passive morphemes available in Capeverdean language: the morpheme *-du/-de* (Santiago variety and São Vicente variety, respectively); the morpheme *-da*, which is only available the in Santiago variety. Note the examples:

- (81) a. *Kaza pintadu oxi /*pa Maria.*
 House paint:PASS today /*PREP Maria.
 “The house has been painted today.”
- b. *Kaza pintada antis azagua.*
 House paint:PASS.PST PREP raining season.
 “The house had been painted before the raining season.”

Please, observe the following contrasting examples:

- (82) a. *Maria kume bolus.*
 Maria eat cakes.
 b. *Bolus kumedu.*
 Cakes eat:PASS.
 (83) a. *Maria kumeba bolus.*
 Maria eat:PST cakes.
 b. *Bolus kumeda.*
 Cakes eat:PASS.PST.

Through these examples we can acknowledge some properties of Capeverdean passives, which have also been discussed to some extent by different authors (Veiga, 1995; Baptista, 2002; Lang, 2002; Pratas, 2007; Quint, 2000): the passive morphemes are affixed to the verb; there is no *copula*; the *by*-phrase seems blocked.

Through examples (82.b) and (83.b), it is clear that the only difference is in the morphemes *-du* and *-da*. These two different morphemes bring about different aspectual interpretations: passives with *-du*, when no other TMA is present, are always interpreted as present perfect; passives with *-da* are always interpreted as past perfect⁹. The fact that we can infer not only passivity but also Aspect from the passive morphemes raises questions in terms of the existence in the language of voice and tense encoded in the passive morpheme. This is a possibility enforced by a second observation that can be made through the examples: no *copula* is needed to mark tense. Note the grammaticality contrast:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(84) <i>Bolus kumedu.</i>
 Cakes eat:PASS.
 “Cakes have been eaten.”</p> | <p>(85) *<i>Bolus foi kumedu.</i>
 Cakes AUX eat:PASS.
 “Cakes were eaten.”</p> |
| <p>(86) <i>Bolus kumeda antis almosu.</i>
 Cakes eat:PASS.PST before lunch.
 “Cakes had been eaten before lunch.”</p> | <p>(87) *<i>Bolus foi kumeda antis almosu.</i>
 Cakes AUX eat:PASS.PST before lunch.
 “Cakes were eaten before lunch.”</p> |

⁹ I refer the reader to Pratas 2010, 2012, 2014 as to this specific Perfect reading when there is no preverbal temporal morpheme.

Capeverdean shares similarities with languages like Haitian Creole where passivity and aspect are encoded in passive morphology. Note the example (78) reproduced here in (88):

- (88) a. *Mwen fè kabann lan rapid-rapid matin an.*
 1SG make bed DEF rapid-rapid morning DEF.
 “I made the bed very quickly this morning.”
- b. *Kabann lan fèt rapid-rapid matin an.*
 Bed DEF made rapid-rapid morning DEF.
 “The bed was made very quickly this morning.”

DeGraff, 2007: 112

On the other hand, the absence of an auxiliary clearly draws a difference between Capeverdean and languages like Portuguese or English (89) and (90), respectively:

- (89) a. O menino comeu o bolo.
 b. O bolo *foi comido* [pelo menino].
- (90) a. The boy has eaten the cake.
 b. The cake *has been eaten* [by the boy].

Note that there are structures with a *copula* in the language in other contexts, for instance, in predicative constructions:

- (91) *El e un rapaz bunitu.*
 3SG BE a boy handsome.
 “He is a handsome boy.”
- (92) *Maria era pikinoti kantu se pai bai stanjeru.*
 Maria BE little when her father go abroad.
 “Maria was little when her father moved abroad.”

In these structures, sometimes under certain contexts the *copula* can even be omitted, like in Negation structures (93):

(93) *El ka bunitu.*

3SG NEG handsome.

“He is not handsome.”

Nevertheless, as said earlier (eg. 85, 87), the presence of an auxiliary in passives results in a non-grammatical sentence:

(94) *Livrus ledu tudu kel dia me.*

Books read:PASS all DEM day same.

“The books have all been read in the same day.”

(95) **Livrus foi ledu tudu kel dia me.*

Books be:PST read:PASS all DEM same.

“The books have all been read in the same day.”

Some speakers of the Santiago variety may acknowledge the use of the auxiliary followed by the main verb and the passive morphemes, like in (96). However, they classified it as a “more Portuguese structure”, normally produced by speakers with a higher level of education and in urban areas¹⁰.

(96) ?*Kaza foi pintadu.*

House be:PST paint:PASS.

“The house has been painted.”

Since auxiliary verbs are not part of the passive constructions in Capeverdean, except in the case above, in (96), the language marks Tense, Mood and Aspect in the passive, in the exact same way as in the active, with TMA markers.

¹⁰ Regarding this issue, it is opportune to provide some clarifications. Lopes da Silva (1957: 184), in his description of passives with examples from the Barlavento Variety of Capeverdean (more specifically from the island of São Nicolau) assumes that passives are formed with the auxiliary verb “*bai*” plus the passive morpheme *-de*:

(i) kaból bá dóde água.

Horse was given water.

However, in his analysis he points out that for the Santiago variety no sort of auxiliary verb occurs in the same construction, as shown above. This is a position also shared by Baptista (2002). Veiga (2000), however, assumes that passives with an auxiliary are already part of the grammar of Capeverdean.

- (97) a. *Kaza pintadu oxi /*pa Maria.*
 House paint:PASS today/*PREP Maria.
 “The house has been painted today.”
- b. *Kaza ta pintadu tudu anu.*
 House HAB paint:PASS every year.
 “The house is painted every year.”
- c. *Kaza ta pintadu manhan di tarde.*
 House FUT paint:PASS tomorrow afternoon.
 “The house will be painted tomorrow afternoon.”
- d. *Kaza sata pintadu gosi li.*
 House PROG paint:PASS right now.
 “The house is being painted right now.”

In Capeverdean there are four TMA markers, one null morpheme and three overtly realized morphemes: *sata*, *ta* (both preverbal) and *-ba* (post-verbal). These four morphemes, each one on its own or combined, are responsible for the temporal readings available in Capeverdean Creole. The values of the TMA are the following:

- (i) $\theta + V$ [Present Perfect with non-stative verbs]
- (ii) *ta* + V [Present habitual, Future]
- (iii) *sata* + V [Progressive]
- (iv) $\theta + V$ -*ba* [Perfect]
- (v) *ta* + V -*ba* [Past habitual, Conditional]
- (vi) *sata* + V -*ba* [Past progressive]

Pratas, 2012

Observing the examples above, it is clear that the elements responsible for different readings from (97.a) to (97.b) and (97.c) are the pre-verbal TMA markers *ta* and *sata*. *Ta* marks present habitual (97.b) or future (97.c), depending on the aspectual properties of the verb it precedes or/and other information in the sentence (such as adverbs). The TMA morpheme *sata* marks progressive (97.c) and it is in

complementary distribution with *ta*, as it happens in the active. We can assume that Time, Mood and Aspect are marked in the passive the same way as in the active. An observation that becomes clearer if we establish a comparison with active sentences with the same TMA morphemes:

- (98) *Maria pinta kaza oxi.*
 Maria paint house today.
 “Maria has painted the house today.”
- (99) *Maria ta pinta kaza tudu anu.*
 Maria HAB paint house every year.
 “Maria paints the house every year.”
- (100) *Maria ta pinta kaza manhan.*
 Maria FUT paint house tomorrow.
 “Maria will paint the house tomorrow.”
- (101) *Maria sata pinta kaza gosi li.*
 Maria PROG paint house now.
 “Maria is painting the house.”
- (102) *Maria pintaba kaza antis azagua.*
 Maria paint:PST house before raining season.
 “Maria has painted the house before the raining season.”
- (103) *Kel dia Maria ka bai pamodi el sata pintaba kaza.*
 DEM day Maria NEG go because 3SG PROG paint:PST house.
 “On that day, Maria didn’t go because she was painting the house.”
- (104) *Un bez, Maria ta pintaba kaza tudu anu.*
 ADV Maria HAB paint:PST house every year.
 “Back in the day, Maria would paint the house every year.”

However, this observation requires a more thorough description in order to account for some features that are not perceptible at a first glance. Contrary to what is observed with the occurrence of the other TMA morphemes, passives with the post-verbal morpheme *-ba* are ungrammatical. Observe the examples from above, reproduced hereby:

Active

(105) *Maria pintaba kaza antis azagua.*

Maria paint:PST house before raining season.

“Maria has painted the house before the raining season.”

Passive

(106) **Kaza pintaduba antis azagua.*

House paint:PASS.PST before raining season.

“The house has been painted before the raining season.”

As it was previously referred, besides *-du*, Capeverdean has another passive morpheme available, *-da*. Considerably less common in the language, this morpheme has been classified in the literature as a past passive morpheme (Veiga, 1995; Quint, 2000). Paula de Brito (1967)¹¹ in his *Apontamentos para a Gramática do Crioulo que se fala em Santiago de Cabo Verde*, one of the first attempts to describe the Capeverdean language, identifies only one passive morpheme *-du*. However, in his grammar, the passive morpheme *-du* is not incompatible with the post-verbal TMA marker *-ba*. This leads us to assume that, back then, the example (106) would be perfectly possible. Taking this into consideration, Lang et al. (2002: 107) proposes that the passive morpheme *-da* results from a “contraction” of *du* + *-ba*, which would explain two things: first, why *-da* encodes not only passivity but also a past perfect reading; second, why there is currently an incompatibility between *-du* and *-ba* or between *-da* and *-ba*, as is shown below:

Active

(107) *Maria pintaba kaza antis azagua.*

Maria paint:PST house before raining season.

“Maria has painted the house before the raining season.”

Passive

(108) a. *Kaza pintada antis azagua.*

House paint:PASS.PST before the raining season.

¹¹ Originally published in 1888 no *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*.

“The house has been painted before the raining season.”

b. **Kaza pintaduba antis azagua.*

House paint:PASS.PST before raining season.

“The house has been painted before the raining season.”

c. **Kaza pintadaba antis azagua.*

House paint:PASS.PST before raining season.

“The house has been painted before the raining season.”

The passive morphemes *-du/-da* combine with the other TMA markers available in the language in order to account for different temporal readings, following the distribution from Pratas (2012) presented above:

(109) a. *Kaza pintada anu pasadu pa Natal.*

House paint:PASS.PST last year PREP Christmas.

“The house had been painted last year at Christmas time.”

b. *Kaza ta pintada tudu anu ate nu ben Praia.*

House HAB paint:PASS.PST every year until we come Praia.

“The house had been painted every year until we came to Praia.”

c. *Kaza sata pintada kantu N benba Portugal.*

House PROG paint:PASS.PST when 1SG come:PST Portugal.

Literally: “The house had been being painted when I came to Portugal.”

In order to portray more clearly the aspectual features of passive morphemes *-du* and *-da*, note the examples with the active/passive counterpart:

(110) a. *Nha pai pinta kaza oji.*

POSS father paint house today.

“My father has painted the house today.”

b. *Kaza pintadu oji.*

House paint:PASS today.

“The house has been painted today.”

(111) a. *Nha pai pintaba kaza kantu nha irman staba pa nasi.*

POSS father paint:PST house when POSS sister be:PST PREP born.

“My father had painted the house when my sister was about to be born.”

b. *Kaza pintada kantu nha irman staba pa nasi.*

House paint:PASS.PST when POSS sister be:PST PREP born.

“*The house had been painted when my sister was about to be born.*”

Having illustrated the passive morphology in Capeverdean, in the next section I will focus on the restrictions that constrain the possibility of a grammatical passive construction in Capeverdean.

3.3. Syntactic and semantic restrictions to eventive passives

This section focuses on the restrictions that eventive passives in Capeverdean are subject to. Some of the restrictions are of syntactic nature, others of a semantic one and connected to the semantic values of NPs and verbs involved in passivization.

Keenan & Dryer (2007) claim a generalization for passives regarding the types of verbs that can be involved in eventive passives: if a language has passives, surely it has passives from a subset of transitive verbs. Capeverdean is no exception and, as noted by Baptista (2002) and Baptista, Mello & Suzuki (2007: 67), a clear syntactic restriction to passivation in Capeverdean is that it always involves a transitive verb. Crucially, this restriction excludes the formation of passives with unergative and unaccusative verbs, both intransitive, as it can be observed in the examples bellow:

(112) **Maria ridu.*

Maria laugh:PASS.

(113) **Maria txigadu.*

Maria arrive:PASS.

Note that this is a very common restriction to passives in different languages. Observe the examples from English:

English

(114) **Mary was laughed.*

- (115) **The chief was arrived by visitors.*¹²

Nonetheless, the restriction on intransitives or unergatives is not a universal feature of passives. Languages like *Sesotho* or *Shona* do allow passives with these types of verbs:

- (116) *Shona*
 Kwa-iuy-w-a na baba.
 SM17-arrive-PASS-FV by father.
 “It was arrived by the father”

Crawford, 2012: 20

- (117) *Sesotho*
Morena o-fihl-ets-o-e ke-baeti.
 Chief SM-arrive-APPL-PASS-FV by visitors.
 “The visitors have arrived for the chief.”
 Lit., “The chief was arrived by the visitors.”

Baker, 1996: 22

As it also happens in languages like English, not all transitive verbs in Capeverdean form good passives. Usually the restrictions on transitive verbs are related to the stativity/agentivity of the verbs and the NPs that they select. Eventive passives normally involve dynamic situations. In other words, passivization of stative verbs is constrained. Copulative, existential or locative verbs do not form passives in Capeverdean:

- (118) a. *Maria sta triste.*
 b. **Triste stadu.*
- (119) a. *Joana mora na Praia p’-e podi bai universidadi.*
 b. **Na praia moradu p’-e podi bai universidadi.*
- (120) a. *Maria ten un bisikleta verdi.*
 b. **Un bisikleta verdi tenedu.*

¹² Examples from Crawford (2012: 19).

However, some stative verbs may, in certain cases, allow passivization. It is perfectly possible to form passives with perception verbs like *obi* (listen) or *odja* (see).

- (121) a. *Minina obi gritu di mudjer la lonji.*
 Girl hear scream PREP woman LOC far.
 “The girl has heard the woman’s scream from far distance.”
 b. *Gritu di mudjer obidu la lonji.*
 Scream PREP women hear:PASS LOC far.
 “The woman’s scream has been heard from far distance.”
- (122) a. *Minina odja djogu di Kauberdi ti fin.*
 Girl see game of Cape Verde until end.
 “The girl has watched Cape Verde’s game until the end.”
 b. *Djogu di Kauberdi odjadu ti fin.*
 Game of Cape Verde see:PASS until end.
 “The Cape Verde game has been seen until the end.”

As it is also true for other languages (e.g. Portuguese, among others), Capeverdean does not seem to pose a problem with statives like *sabe* (know) – note that *sabe* has been analyzed as having a Become sub-event in Pratas 2010, 2012¹³:

- (123) a. *Tudu algen sabe tudu segredu di Maria na vila.*
 Everyone know all secret PREP Maria PREP village.
 “Everyone in the village knows all Maria’s secrets.”
 b. *Tudu segredu di Maria sabedu na vila.*
 All secret PREP Maria know:PASS PREP village.
 “All Maria’s secrets are known in the village.”

Verbs that select a subject with a Theme theta-role like *peza* (weight) and *kusta* (cost) also do not form passives, just like what has been observed for other languages (Gehrke & Grillo, 2009: 341):

¹³ I recommend the reader to Pratas (2010, 2012) for further reading on statives as *sabe* in Capeverdean.

- (124) a. *Active*
Djon ta pezaba 70 kilu kantu el tenba 20 anu.
 Djon TMA weight:PST 70 kilo when he have:PST 20 years.
 “John weighted 70 kilos when he was 20 years old.”
- b. *Passive*
 **70 kilu pezadu kantu Djon tenba 20 anu.*
 70 kilo weight:PASS when Djon have:PST 20 years.
 “70 kilos were weighted by Djon when he was 20 years old.”
- (125) a. *Active*
Kel kamiza kusta 500 skudu.
 DEM shirt cost 500 Escudos.
 “That shirt cost me 500 Escudos.”
- b. *Passive*
 **500 skudu kustadu.*
 500 Escudos cost:PASS.
 *“(500 Escudos have cost)”

3.4. Impersonal passives

In Capeverdean eventive passives, it is possible to invert the order of the passivized verb and the subject. These are called impersonal passives:

- (126) a. *Pintadu kaza onti noti.*
 Paint:PASS house yesterday night.
 “The house has been painted yesterday night.”
- b. *Lebadu lixu pa rua dipos di festa kaba.*
 Take:PASS garbage PREP outside after PREP party over.
 “The garbage has been taken outside after the party was over.”
- c. *Odjadu tudu prugrama ki tinha pa odjaba na tilivison kel dia.*
 Watch:PASS every show that have:PST to watch:PST on television DEM day.
 “Every show there was to be watched on television that day was watched.”
- d. *Atxadu dinheru ki minina perdi onti.*
 Find:PASS money that girl lose yesterday.

“The money the girl lost yesterday has been found.”

These structures do not admit a morphological *by*-phrase, although it is possible for the implicit argument to control the subject of an adverbial finite clause or to have Agent-oriented adverbials and instrumental PPs:

(127) *Porta ronbadu ku un martelu pa salva minina.*

Door break:PASS with a hammer PREP rescue girl.

“The door has been broken with a hammer to rescue the girl.”

This kind of passives is very common and, normally, denotes an undetermined Agent that is not recoverable from the context. Although not exclusively, impersonal passives seem to be more common with quantified and indefinite NPs, with a focus on the event rather than on the argument:

(128) *Publikadu tudu poema di Eugénio Tavares pa sentenariu di se nasimentu.*

Publish:PASS all poem by Eugénio Tavares PREP centennial PREP POSS birth.

(129) *Matadu muskitus di dengi moku.*

Kill:PASS mosquitos PREP dengue a lot.

(130) *Txeradu kumida artis di kume pa djobi si ka staba stragadu.*

Smell:PASS food before PREP eat PREP see if NEG be:PST spoiled.

(131) *Andadu dez kilometru di kaminhu di kabra pa nada, bo atxa dretu?*

Walk:PASS ten kilometers PREP shortcuts PREP nothing, 2SG find ok?

(132) *Resebedu un monti kexa di pais na secretaria di skola.*

Receive:PASS a lot complaints PREP parents PREP secretariat PREP school.

(133) *Sata mandadu karta pa tudu skola ta proibi gentis di fora di entra.*

PROG send:PASS letter PREP all school TMA forbid people PREP outside PREP get in.

Baptista (2002: 113) observes that this inversion can only occur when the subject of the passive is a full NP, in other words, when the subject is not a pronoun; note that, nevertheless, there is a difference in acceptance of these contexts when the subject is a clitic (134.c) – completely ungrammatical –, or a free pronoun (134.d) – some speakers do not entirely reject this.

- (134) a. *Monitora laba-l ku agua di mar.*
 Monitor wash 3SG PREP water PREP sea.
 b. *E labadu ku agua di mar.*
 3SG wash:PASS PREP water PREP sea.
 c. **Labadu e ku agua di mar.*
 Wash:PASS 3SG PREP water PREP sea.
 d. *?Labadu el ku agua di mar.*
 Wash:PASS 3SG PREP water PREP sea.

Also, it was very clear to my consultants that passives with non-agentive verbs are more acceptable in impersonal passives than they are in personal passive structures when no other contextualization is given:

- (135) a. *Marco odja djogu na tilivizon.*
 b. *?Djogu odjadu na tilivizon.*
 c. *Odjadu djogu na tilivizon.*

3.5. Goal Promotion passives

This section focuses on the description of passives with Double Object Constructions (DOCs) in Capeverdean. In sub-section 3.5.1, I present a brief description of DOCs in the active voice, and in sub-section 3.5.2. I describe passives of DOCs in Capeverdean, where normally the Goal Object is promoted to the subject position.

3.5.1. Double Object Constructions in Capeverdean

Languages are subject to some variation regarding three-place predicates. While Portuguese, for instance, forms double complement structures with verbs like *dar* (give) or *enviar* (send), English, on the other hand, allows not only double complement constructions but also Double Object Constructions (DOCs) (Cf. the translation of 137):

(136) *A Maria deu o livro ao João.*

DET Mary gave DET book to John.

“Mary gave the book to John.”

(137) *A Maria deu ao João o livro*¹⁴.

DET Mary gave to John DET book.

“Mary gave John the book.”

Capeverdean, as English, has Double Object Constructions and the only possible word order is S+V+IO+DO, whether the objects are definite or undefined NPs, full NPs or pronominals (Cf. Baptista 2002: 140).

(138) a. *Maria da Djon livru.*

Maria give Djon book.

“Maria has given Djon a book.”

b. **Maria da livru Djon.*

Maria give book Djon.

(139) a. *Maria da Djon el.*

Maria give Djon 3SG.

“Maria has given it to Djon.”

b. #*Maria da-l Djon.*¹⁵

Maria give-3SG Djon.

(140) a. *Maria da-l livru.*

Maria give-3SG book.

“Maria has given him a book.”

b. **Maria da livru el.*

Maria give book him.

(141) a. *Maria da-l es.*

Maria give-3SG 3PL.

“Maria has given them to him.”

¹⁴ The sentence is grammatical in Portuguese, but it does not normally occur in out-of-the-blue contexts. The V+IO+DO order is related to the informational structure of the sentence in Focus contexts. For further analyses on this matter, I refer the reader to Costa (2002).

¹⁵ Ungrammatical in the relevant interpretation, which is “Mary give it to Djon”. Instead, what we get is the interpretation “Maria gave him John”.

b. #*Maria da-s el.*¹⁶

Maria give 3PL 3SG

Adapted from: Fiéis & Pratas, 2006: 391

According to Baptista (2002), contrary to English, the DOCs in Capeverdean do not have a prepositional counterpart (cf. 142):

(142) **Maria da un livru pa Djon.*

Maria give a book PREP Djon.

“Maria has given a book for Djon.”

However, as the author herself admits, that is not the case with the verb *manda* (to send):

(143) a. *N manda Rui un karta.*

I send Rui a letter.

“I have sent Rui a letter.”

b. *N manda un karta pa Rui.*

I send a letter PREP Rui.

“I have sent a letter to Rui.”

Fiéis & Pratas (2006), on the other hand, assume that there can be the combination V+DP+PP with predicates like *give* / *send* in Capeverdean. However, the authors claim that these constructions, besides being rare, have slightly different interpretations and are not semantic correspondents to DOCs. Observe the examples:

(144) a. *N da Maria livru.*

I give Maria book.

“I have given Maria a book.”

b. *N da livru pa Maria.*

I give book PREP Maria.

“I have given a book to Mary [for Mary to have it]/[for Mary to read].”

¹⁶ Ungrammatical in the relevant interpretation, which is “Maria gave them it”. Instead, what we get is the interpretation “Maria gave it to them”.

The preposition *pa* in Capeverdean always implies a purpose for sentences like (145) to be acceptable (Fiéis & Pratas, 2006: 392). As the same authors point out, Capeverdean does not have a correspondent to the preposition *to* (English ditransitives) or to the preposition *a* (Portuguese ditransitives). Ditransitive constructions have different semantic values because the *pa* that appears in these structures adds a value in the language more similar to English *for* or *by*:

- (145) *N faze es bolu pa nha pai*
 1SG do DEM cake PREP POSS father.
 “I’ve made this cake for my father.”

- (146) *N troka Kauberdi pa Portugal pa-N podeba sta*
 1SG exchange Cape Verde PREP Portugal PREP-1SG can:PST be
mas ku nhas genti.
 more PREP POSS family.
 “I exchanged Cape Verde for Portugal so I could stay more with my family.”

Considering these differences, Double Object Constructions are normally the chosen structure when three place predicates are at stake, the only exception being when the Goal argument is [-Animate] and a place as in (148):

- (147) **N manda Merka un karta.*
 (148) *N manda un karta pa Merka.*

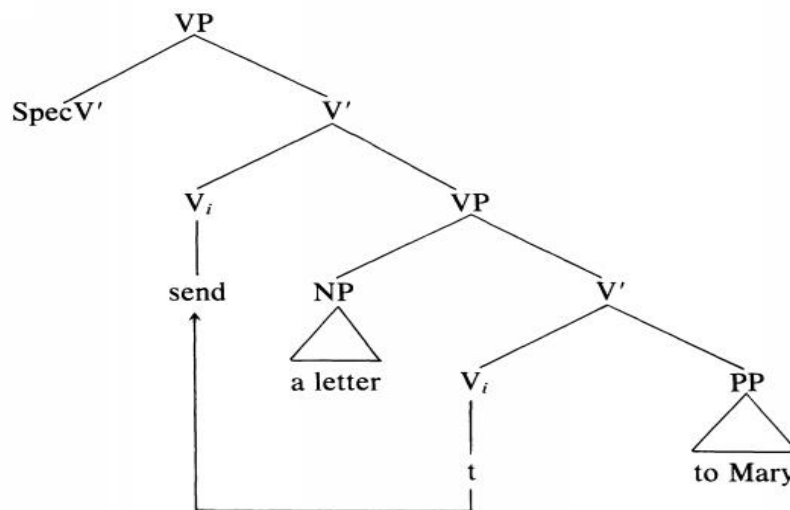
Fiéis & Pratas, 2006: 391

Considering that some languages have both DOCs and ditransitives, while others have just one of these options, there are different proposals trying to account for these differences. On the one hand, some propose that there is a transformational relation from ditransitive structures into DOCs (Larson, 1988); on the other hand, others

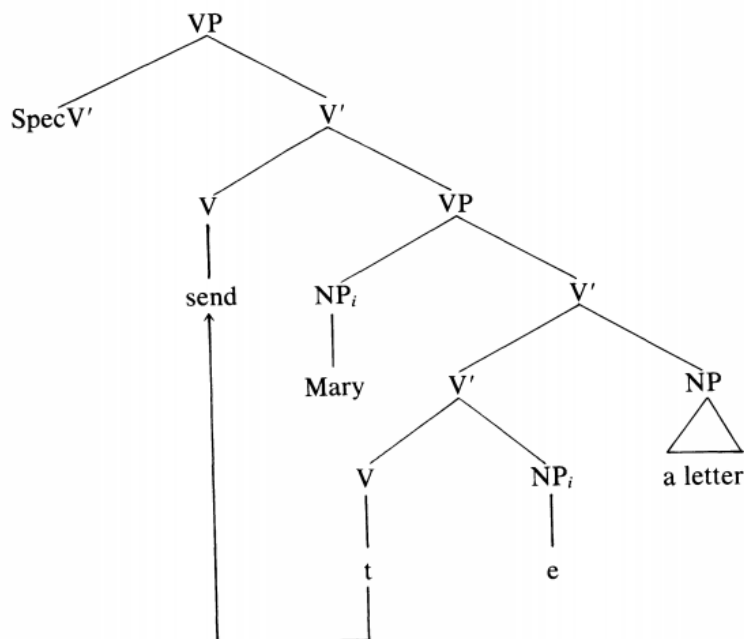
understand that these constructions do not derive from one another and have different semantic values (149).

Larson (1988) proposes that Double Object Constructions and ditransitives are related and that in both constructions the Goal argument is the real internal argument of the verb, because it is generated in a higher position in SpecVP.

(149) a. Structure of Ditransitives



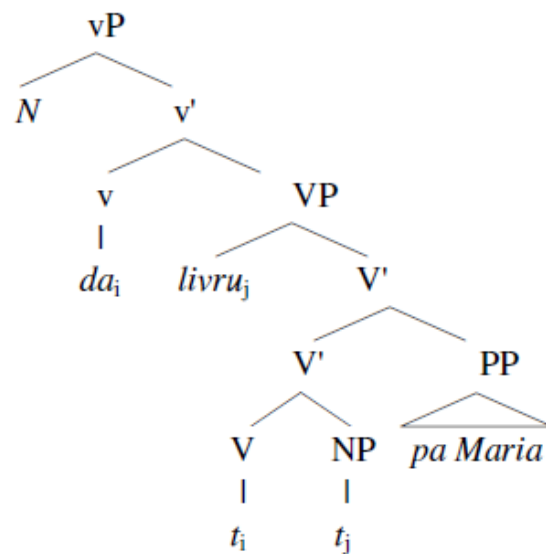
b. DOCs structure



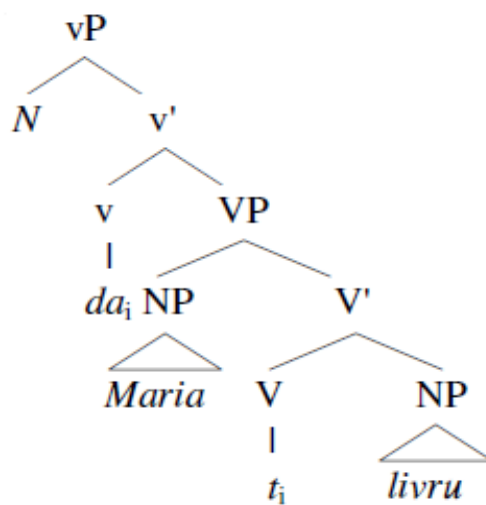
(Larson, 1988)

These structures were proposed considering mostly data from English. Fiéis & Pratas (2006) assume that, differently from English, in Capeverdean there is not a derivational relation between Ditransitive and Double Object Constructions:

(150) a. Structure of ditransitives in Capeverdean



b. DOCs structure in Capeverdean



(Fiéis & Pratas, 2006)

According to the authors, in these Constructions, the true internal argument of the verb is the Goal argument, which is generated as a Spec, VP, and the Theme object occupies the position of a Complement of the verb.

This proposal differs from the one made by Larson (1988) in the sense that it predicts that, in ditransitive structures in Capeverdean, the DO is the internal argument of the verb and that, in DOC, the IO is the true internal argument, contrary to Larson's (1998) proposal of a derivational relation between these two structures and the same argument grid of the verb in both.

Whether we assume a transformational relation between ditransitives and DOCs or not, one important feature to retain from proposals from both Larson (1988) and Fiéis & Pratas (2006) is that, concerning the DOCs, the Goal argument is always in a higher position of the VP, which explains why in English and Capeverdean, when a double object verb goes through passivization, the selected object to be promoted is always the Goal argument of the active, as it is illustrated in the next sub-section.

3.5.2. Goal Promotion passives

Passives with Double Object Constructions in Capeverdean are possible and the Goal Object is always selected as the subject of the passive construction.

(151) *Active*

Maria da Djon livru.

Maria give Djon book.

“Mary has given Djon a book.”

(152) *Passive*

a. *Djon dadu livru.*

Djon give:PASS book.

“Djon has been given a book.”

b. **Livru dadu Djon.*

Book give:PASS Djon.

- (153) *Active*
Joana manda rapas karta.
Joana send boy letter.
“Joana has sent the boy a letter.”

- (154) *Passive*
a. *Rapas mandadu karta.*
Boy send:PASS letter.
“The boy has been sent a letter.”
b. **Karta mandadu rapas.*
Letter send:PASS boy.

The only contexts in which the Theme argument is promoted to the subject position in a passive with a ditransitive verb is when the context does not allow a Double Object Construction, as in (155-156):

- (155) *Active*
a. **Mudjer ntrega orfanatu bebe.*
Woman hand orphanage baby.
“A woman has handed the orphanage a baby.”
b. *Mudjer ntrega bebe na orfanatu.*
Woman hand baby PREP orphanage.
“The woman has handed the baby to the orphanage.”

- (156) *Passive*
a. **Orfanatu ntregadu bebe.*
Orphanage hand:PASS baby.
“The orphanage has been handed a baby.”
b. *Bebe ntregadu na orfanatu.*
Baby hand:PASS PREP orphanage.
“The baby has been handed to the orphanage.”

In summary, Capeverdean allows passives with ditransitive verbs promoting always the Goal argument to the subject position. The ditransitive contexts, where the Theme argument is promoted to subject in the passive, are always in contexts where the active is not a Double Object Construction. That promotion of the Goal is not unexpected, given locality effects, following Larson (1988) proposal.

3.6. Verbal vs. adjectival passives in Capeverdean

A key element regarding the description of passives, which more than often poses a problem to the verbal nature of passives, is the distinction between verbal passives and adjectival passives. Although this is not the focus of this work, the distinction is necessary to set some boundaries to this work and clarify its focus.

In Capeverdean, there is a morphological difference between verbal and adjectival passives. While verbal passives are formed with the verb plus a passive morpheme, adjectival passives are formed by an auxiliary verb followed by the participle form of the main verb. Note the following examples:

- (157) a. *Mininu kebra vidru ku un bola.*
 Boy break glass with a ball.
 “The boy broke the glass with a ball.”
- b. *Vidru kebradu ku un bola.* [verbal passive]
 Glass broke:PASS with a ball.
 “The glass has been broken with a ball.”
- c. *Vidru sta kebradu.* [adjectival passive]
 Glass BE break:PASS
 “The glass is broken.”

Comparing (157.b) and (157.c), “*sta*” in the latter clearly adds a stative value that is absent in the former, even though the forms of the participle/adjective in these two sentences are the same. Furthermore, an element that reinforces the difference between verbal and adjectival passives in Capeverdean is that, in cases where the

language has two participle forms available, the adjectival passive is formed with the irregular form:

- (158) a. *Kel porta abridu di abuzu.* [verbal passive]
 DEM door open:PASS PREP purpose.
 b. *Porta sta abertu.* [adjectival passive]
 Door BE: open:PST.PART.
- (159) a. *Bolu kubridu pa moska ka senta*
 Cake cover:PASS PREP flies NEG land.
 b. *Bolu sta kubertu.*
 Cake BE cover:PST.PART

Embick (2004) considers that the opposition verbal/adjectival is not enough to account for the different properties of the participles in these structures. Is Embick's typology possible for Capeverdean? Observe the following examples:

- (160) a. *Porta fitxadu ku pe.*
 b. *Porta sta fitxadu gosi li.*
 c. *Porta fika fitxadu.*

Following Embick's typology, the past participle without any auxiliary would correspond to an *eventive passive*, the past participle preceded by the copulative verb *sta* forms an *adjectival passive* and by the copulative verb *fika* forms a *resultative passive*. Although it would be interesting to understand if Embick's typology applies to Capeverdean, this distinction is not relevant to the current dissertation; therefore, I will not deepen into the subject.

3.7. Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, departing from what has been observed for other languages, I started describing the morphological properties of Capeverdean Creole to later focus on the syntactic and semantic restrictions that the language pose to passivization. It has been demonstrated that, similarly to other creoles, Capeverdean forms passives by promoting the object of the active to a subject position and by affixing passive morphology to the main verb. Regarding Tense, Mood and Aspect, the passive works like the active since it resorts to the same TMA morphemes.

In this chapter it was also important to describe how some relevant distinctions regarding passivization, namely the distinction between impersonal and personal passives and between verbal and adjectival passives, occur in Capeverdean. Regarding the first, it was demonstrated that impersonal passives in Capeverdean are formed by simply inverting the order of the verb and the subject of the passive voice. This inversion, however, presents some restrictions, namely that the subject must be a full NP or, at most, a free pronoun.

Concerning the distinction between verbal and adjectival passives, it was demonstrated that, while verbal passives do not require an auxiliary verb, adjectival passives are formed with the copula *sta* plus the adjective.

Also in this chapter, the formation of passives with double object constructions in Capeverdean was described. It was demonstrated that, since the Goal argument is in a higher position, thus closer to the verb, it is the one promoted to subject position once the verb is passivized.

One will notice that a crucial point of the discussion concerning passives was not deepened in the present chapter, that is the (un)grammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean. As it was shown in the previous chapter, an important property associated to passives cross-linguistically is that the external argument of the active emerges in the passive introduced by the preposition *by*, a PP that is always optional. However, in Capeverdean the presence of a morphological *by*-phrase seems to be blocked. This observation is at the same time interesting and puzzling, since it raises questions to some of the current proposals for the analysis of passives. Thus, the next chapter mainly centers on the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean, taking into account proposals by Kratzer (1996), Sailor & Ahn (2010) and Bruening (2012), and some other questions raised by the description presented in this chapter. Furthermore, it will be

discussed how this feature of passives fits into other properties of the language, concerning namely reflexives.

4. A further look into some features of Capeverdean passives

The present chapter focuses on two features of Capeverdean eventive passives. On the one hand, the opposition between personal eventive passives and impersonal eventive passives; on the other hand, one of the most distinguishing features of Capeverdean verbal passives, the ungrammaticality of a morphological *by*-phrase.

The first feature raises questions concerning the contexts that favor the use of a personal eventive passive as opposed to contexts that favor an impersonal eventive passive. Is it related to the kind of verb and event? Or else, does it depend on the NPs involved in passivization, in terms of animacy [+/- animate] [+/- human], definitude [+/- definite] or genericity [+/- generic]?

Concerning the (un)grammaticality of the *by*-phrase, if, on the one hand, some authors reject that in Capeverdean it is possible to have a morphological *by*-phrase (Baptista, 2002; Mello & Baptista, 2007), on the other hand, authors like Veiga (1995, 2002) consider the presence of the *by*-phrase perfectly grammatical. If the first observation is the correct one, it raises different questions, namely, how this feature fits other properties of the language and the implications of this feature for the proposals that have been presented concerning passivization.

This chapter is organized as follows: 4.1 presents the data that attest the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean; 4.2 demonstrates how the morphologically absent *by*-phrase is structurally implicit in Capeverdean passives; 4.3

discusses the nature of short passives in Capeverdean; 4.4 presents a proposal to account for the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean; finally, 4.5 focuses in the implications of assuming a Voice head.

4.1. *By*-phrase or no *by*-phrase

So far it has been demonstrated that Capeverdean has specific morphology for passives, *-du* and *-da*, that these morphemes are affixed to the main verb and that they interact with the other preverbal TMA morphemes available in the language in the same way these morphemes behave with eventive verbs in the active.

At this point, we retake one of the observations pointed out above for Capeverdean passives, which is the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase:

- (161) *Kel libru lebadu /# pa Djon.*
 DEM book take:PASS PREP Djon.
 “The book has been taken by Djon.”
- (162) *Marco npuradu /# pa Maria.*
 Marco push:PASS PREP Maria.
 “Marco has been pushed by Maria.”

Baptista (2002: 112), Baptista, Mello & Suzuki (2007: 67) assume that eventive passives in Capeverdean do not allow a morphological *by*-phrase. The authors recognize that rare occurrences can be found in *corpora* of passive constructions with a *by*-phrase. However, they claim that these occurrences are Portuguese influenced structures and not part of the grammar of the language. Veiga (1995: 194; 2000: 193), on the other hand, assumes that the *by*-phrase can be explicit in an eventive passive:

- (163) *Katxupa foi kumedu aoje pa mi.*
 Katxupa be:PST eat:PASS today by me.

Veiga 2000: 193

The description of Baptista (2002), Baptista, Mello & Suzuki (2007) and Lopes da Silva (1957) is confirmed by native speakers through interviews. Consultants were instructed to start a sentence with the direct object of another given sentence in the active such as (164.a). They did not produce long passives, although they referred that the sentences would be more grammatical with some sort of contextualization rather than a simple sentence such as (165.b):

- (164) a. *Maria pinta kaza.*
 b. *Kaza pintadu (onti noti).*
 House paint:PASS (last night).

In a second phase, they were asked to judge passive sentences with and without a *by*-phrase. Two of them did not accept passives with *by*-phrases justifying that they did not sound “natural”, that normally they “wouldn’t use it” and that they interpreted the *by*-phrases as a [target] and not as having the theta-role of the subject of the active sentence. A third consultant had doubts and accepted long passives but considered the sentence to be more grammatical without a *by*-phrase.

Regarding the interpretation of the prepositional phrase that the speakers refer to, it is related to the fact that “*pa*” in Capeverdean can mean “*by*” but also “*to*” and “*for*”:

- (165) a. *Djon korta pon.*
 Djon cut Bread.
 b. *#Pon kortadu pa Djon.*
 Bread cut:PASS PREP Djon.
 Interpretation 1: “The bread has been cut for Djon.”
 Interpretation 2: “The bread has been cut by Djon.”

If (165.b) is interpreted as “The bread has been cut for *Djon*, it means that *someone* cut the bread so that *Djon* could eat it, not that *Djon* was the one who cut the bread. Therefore, *Djon* does not maintain the Agent thematic-role which would have been its thematic role in an active counterpart of (165.b). The same ambiguity can be raised for example with example (162), repeated here as:

(166) *Marco npuradu pa Maria.*

Marco push;PASS PREP Mary.

Interpretation 1: “John was pushed towards Mary.”

*Interpretation 2: “John was pushed by Mary.”

Nonetheless, consultants reject the presence of a *by*-phrase even when *pa* cannot be understood as *for*:

(167) a. *Mininu konkista minina ku floris i xokolati.* (Active)

Boy court girl with flowers and chocolate.

“The boy has courted the girl with flowers and chocolate.”

b. *Minina konkistadu ku floris i xokolati.* (Passive)

Girl court:PASS with flowers and chocolate.

“The girl has been courted with flowers and chocolate.”

c. **Minina konkistadu pa mininu ku flori i xokolati.* (Passive with *by*-phrase)

Girl court:PASS by boy with flowers and chocolate.

“The girl has been courted by the boy with flowers and chocolate.”

Note that with non-agentive verbs the *by*-phrase is also ungrammatical:

(168) **Mininu sustadu pa mudjer.*

Kid frighten:PASS PREP woman.

(169) **Gritu obidu pa mi di lonji.*

Scream hear:PASS PREP 1SG PREP far.

(170) **Filmi odjadu pa minina.*

Movie watch:PASS PREP girl.

In fact, the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean does not come as a surprise, since the language also does not allow *by*-phrases in non-passive structures where this PP is also available for other languages like English and Portuguese, for

instance, in nominalizations. Sentences like (171) or (172) in Capeverdean are ungrammatical:

(171) **Distruison di sidadi pa soldados.*

(172) **Rikolha di tanpinhas pa voluntarius korre dretu.*

Portuguese

(173) *A destruição da cidade pelos soldados.*

(174) *A recolha de tampinhas pelos voluntários correu bem.*

English

(175) *Destruction of the city by the soldiers.*

(176) *The collection of caps by the volunteers went well.*

However, in some stative contexts with more generic and quantified NPs, speakers have a more conflicted judgment and consider that the *by*-phrase could be more acceptable:

(177) ?*Diskuson ubidu pa tudu algen.*

(178) ?*Sidadi rodiadu pa izersitu mutu antis di invazon.*

How to account for these instances? These pieces of evidence raise some important questions that I intend to address in this chapter:

- 1) If Capeverdean has only short passives, how can we illustrate their true eventive nature?
- 2) If Capeverdean has only short passives, how are these structures different from impersonal passives?
- 3) How does the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean fit in the theory proposed for passives and how does it relate to other properties of the language?

an implicit argument. Firstly, eventive passives in Capeverdean accept Agent-oriented adverbs:

- (181) *Marco npuradu di abuzu.*
Marco push:PASS on purpose.
“Marco has been pushed on purpose.”

Also, in Capeverdean passives, there is the possibility for an implicit Agent to control the subject of an adverbial non-finite clause:

- (182) *Banku asaltadu pa roba dinheru.*¹⁷
Bank rob:PASS PREP steal money.
“The bank has been robbed to steal the money.”

Finally, eventive passives in Capeverdean allow the presence of instrumental PPs which denote the existence of an implicit Agent:

- (183) *Meza limpadu ku un panu suju.*
Table clean:PASS with a dirty cloth.
“The table has been cleaned with a dirty cloth.”
- (184) *Pon kortadu ku un faka.*
Bread cut:PASS with a knife.
“The bread has been cut with a knife.”

Therefore, it can be assumed that, although Capeverdean does not allow a *by*-phrase to be expressed morphologically, it is implicit.

4.3. The nature of short passives in Capeverdean creole

In the previous section, the eventive value of passives in Capeverdean was demonstrated, despite the fact that the language does not allow a morphological *by*-

¹⁷ Example adapted from Duarte, 2003.

phrase. However, assuming the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase forces us to take a closer look at the typology of passives in Capeverdean and at how they differ from other structures close to passives, namely impersonal passives. In order to show how Capeverdean works, I will make a contrast with Portuguese.

Regarding passives, Portuguese has, besides adjectival passives and infinitival passives, which are not relevant here, eventive passives (185) and the so-called pronominal passives (187). Eventive passives on their turn can be personal (185) or impersonal (186):

(185) Os dois homicídios foram resolvidos em 24 horas.

(186) Foram resolvidos os dois homicídios em 24 horas.

(187) Resolveram-se os dois homicídios em 24 horas.

Duarte, 2013: 447

In the literature it has been shown that some differences exist between these structures. Eventive passives are different from pronominal passives in the following aspects¹⁸:

- a. Pronominal passives form with a verb followed by the “passive operator”, or “3rd person unstressed pronoun”, *se*. The verb does not have any special morphology and agrees with the internal argument of the sentence. Eventive passives, on the other hand, are formed by an auxiliary verb followed by the past participle of the main verb, which also agrees with the subject, actually the internal argument of the verb.
- b. Subjects of pronominal passives are normally post-verbal, quantified, generic and indefinite, while in eventive passives they are preverbal and more referential (Full NPs, Pronouns, etc.).
- c. Pronominal passives do not allow the morphological expression of the Agent, although it is possible to have, for instance, Agent oriented adverbs. Eventive passives, on the contrary, allow the presence of the Agent in a *by*-phrase, although it can be omitted.

¹⁸ For further reading on this subject, I recommend the reader to Duarte (2003, 2013) and Correia (2003).

Impersonal passives, although they are considered eventive passives, share some similarities with pronominal passives in three aspects:

- a. The subject is also post-verbal.
- b. Normally, subjects are also indefinite, generic and not strongly referential.
- c. The *by*-phrase is ruled out, despite the fact that Agent-oriented adverbials and instrumental PPs can occur and the implicit external argument can control purpose clauses.

As it has been previously shown, eventive passives in Capeverdean can be personal or impersonal. Capeverdean does not have a pronominal passive operator as the Portuguese *se*. However, one could state that personal eventive passives in Capeverdean are similar to personal eventive passives in Portuguese and that the impersonal eventive passive would correspond roughly to both impersonal eventive passives and pronominal passives in Portuguese. Note the following Portuguese sentences¹⁹ and their equivalent in Capeverdean:

- (188) a. *Os dois homicídios foram resolvidos em 24 horas.*
b. *Kes dos omisidiu rezolvedu na 24 ora.*
- (189) a. *Foram resolvidos os dois homicídios em 24 horas.*
b. *Rezolvedu kes dos omisidiu na 24 ora.*
- (190) a. *Resolveram-se os dois homicídios em 24 horas.*
b. *Rezolvedu kes dos omisidiu na 24 ora.*

However, while Portuguese allows a morphological *by*-phrase in eventive personal passives, but not with impersonal eventive passives and pronominal passives, Capeverdean does not allow a morphological *by*-phrase with neither.

Given this data, the next section intends to present a proposal that accounts for the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean. I will resort to Kratzer (1996), Sailor & Ahn (2010) and Bruening (2012).

¹⁹ Portuguese examples are from Duarte (2013: 447).

4.4. Why *by*-phrases are not allowed?

As it was referred before, one question that is immediately raised, concerning Capeverdean passives, is why the language does not allow a morphological *by*-phrase, despite the fact that, as we have shown, it is syntactically active? Much of the literature accounts for short passives considering that the language allows long passives. What about when there are no long passives but only eventive short passives?

Collins (2008) considers that in the passive the external argument is base-generated in the same position as in the active, in Spec *v*P. He claims that in passives *by* is the head of a Voice^o which is related to “smuggling” of the internal argument past *v*P to SpecIP. Thus, in a short passive, he states that there is an empty category PRO, similar to the one in infinitives. According to Collins, smuggling occurs the same in short passives and the implicit argument is in the same position. Nonetheless, his proposal does not specifically account for the fact that in some languages the *by*-phrase **cannot** be expressed morphologically.

Bruening’s (2012) proposal, however, pays special attention to *by*-phrases. He assumes, following Kratzer (1996), that there is a Voice head in every finite clause, where the external argument is assigned. Bruening (2012) claims, as it was presented in 2.4.4, that the passive is a head that selects an unsaturated Voice projection. Since this Voice head is the one to assign the external argument, which has not been checked off yet, Pass will saturate the external argument by existentially binding it, once it merges with Voice. This perspective assumed by Bruening (2012) is very similar to some assumptions made by Sailor & Ahn (2010) which will be considered in order to provide an analysis for the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in Capeverdean.

4.4.1. Voice head: a possible answer

The answer to this puzzling question may be found in Kratzer’s (1996) proposal, in which she assumes that external arguments are not true arguments of the verb. She defends that, while the internal arguments are assigned by the verb, the external argument must be assigned through secondary predication. Kratzer (1996: 120) claims the existence of a functional head Voice just above *v*P that is present in every finite clause,

except in unaccusatives. This head Voice is responsible for introducing the external argument. Following Kratzer (1996), Sailor & Ahn (2010) point out that, despite the author assuming that the external argument is introduced by a Voice⁰, she never explicitly states that this head is responsible for all the alternations in grammatical voice. Thus, Sailor & Ahn propose the following:

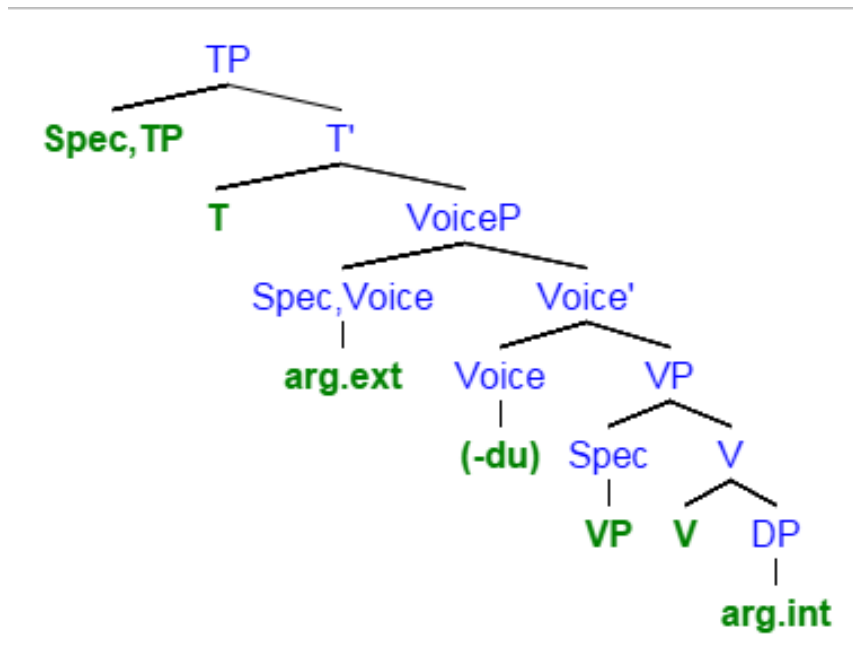
Voice⁰ is the head which modulates all grammatical voice alternations, by introducing an external argument (or not) and triggering predicate fronting (or not). (Sailor & Ahn, 2010: 5)

This proposal means that Voice⁰ is always projected and that all the alternations of Voice (active, passive or middle) will depend on the features of this head. Another consequence of this assumption is that there is not any sort of transformational relation between active and passive (as it is also assumed by Collins, 2008).

In her study focused on reflexive constructions in Capeverdean, Pratas (2014) assumes that “[a]ll Capeverdean finite sentences, except unaccusatives, have a Voice head in their functional structure; this Voice head is responsible for assigning, or not, external theta-roles” (Pratas, 2014: 247). This assumption implies the following configuration for an active sentence in the language: with canonical transitive verbs, Voice⁰ is silent, the internal argument remains in its base position and the external argument is merged into Spec Voice (Pratas, 2014).

As it was demonstrated in section 3.2, Capeverdean eventive passives have specific passive morphology. Following the assumption that a Voice⁰ is always projected, let us conjecture that in eventive passives the passive morphology is lexicalized in Voice⁰ and the external argument is projected in Spec,Voice (Cf. 191):

(191)



However, as it was demonstrated in the sections above, the external argument in Capeverdean passives is never expressed. This leads us to introduce Sportiche's (1992) generalized version of Doubly Filled Comp Filter, which states that either heads or specifiers can be overt, never both. According to Koopman (1997), the Doubly Filled Comp filter was originally proposed by Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) to explain why it was not possible to have in the same sentence an overt *wh*-question and a C, like in (192) and (193):

(192) *I wonder [who that] left.

(193) *The man [who that John saw]

Koopman, 1997: 13

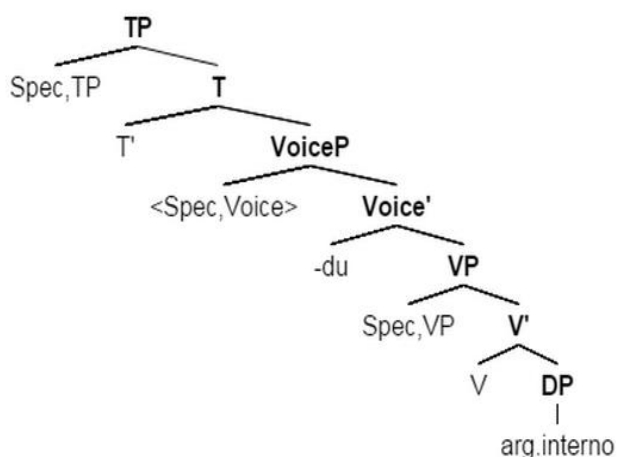
Departing from Chomsky & Lasnik's (1977) proposal, Sportiche (1992) suggested a generalized version of the Doubly Filled Comp Filter where he claims that this filter should be extended to Clitic projections and Voices. Thus, the generalized version of the Doubly Filled Comp filter is a licensing principle that assumes that certain heads and their specifiers cannot be simultaneously overt.

However, the filter seems not to hold universally, for instance, for languages like Dutch or Québec French. Even English has exceptions, as in root-*wh* like in "*Where did*

you go?” (Koopman, 1997: 13). This has led some to consider the Doubly Filled Comp Filter more like an economy principle, rather than a restriction.

For the case of Capeverdean, what is considered here is the Doubly Filled Comp, but not in its generalized version. In fact, what I propose here is that the filter applies to VoiceP: either its head or its specifier can be overt, never both. Thus, as we have seen above, in active sentences with transitive verbs, Voice⁰ is silent, the internal argument remains in its base position and the external argument is merged into Spec,Voice (Pratas, 2014); as for passives, the passive morpheme is merged at the head position and Spec,Voice remains covert. Thus, the underlying structure to eventive passive is as follows:

(194)



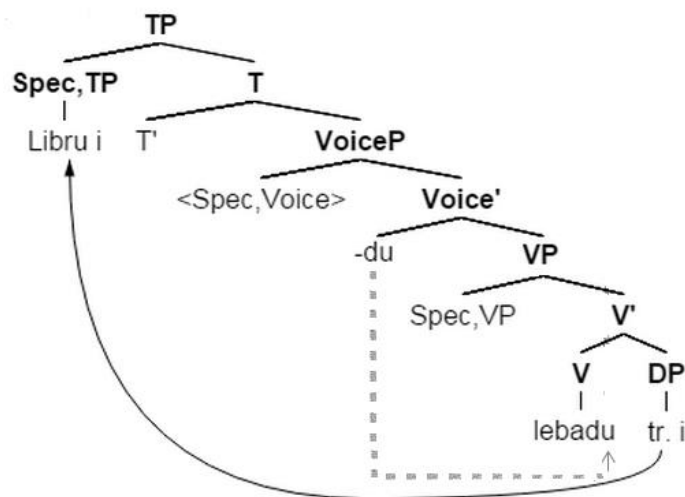
Even assuming that, in Capeverdean, Doubly Filled Comp only applies to VoiceP (note that in English it is also proposed to apply only to certain projections), it is now necessary to explain why VoiceP shows different choices for active and for passive sentences: in the first, it is the specifier that is overt; in the second, the overt element is the head. To account for this, I assume the proposal in Costa & Martins (2004), according to which functional heads can be strong or weak, the strength of a functional head being characterized as a morpho-syntactic condition: “In other words, a strong functional head requires visibility or lexical support” (Costa & Martins, 2004: 1). Therefore, I propose that Voice⁰ is strong in passive sentences (thus, it requires visibility or lexical support; it must be visible at PF) and weak in active sentences (thus, it is not necessarily associated with morphology). Note that, even though it is not associated with morphology, in this last case, Voice⁰ is still there. Costa & Martins clarify this point: “[t]his does not entail that ‘invisible’ functional heads are absent,

since a weak functional head may have semantic import. In that case, it will be present” (Costa & Martins, 2004: 2).

Going back to the passive constructions, the external argument, despite being silent, can be tracked through Agent-oriented verbs, instrumentals and the way how it can control the subject of an adverbial non-finite clause, as illustrated by the examples in section 4.2. This derivation for eventive passives in Capeverdean accounts for the fact that the *by*-phrase is blocked but its external argument is still syntactically active.

Following this, the internal argument merges then into Spec,TP to be assigned case and assuming, as Pratas (2007: 115), that in Capeverdean there is no movement from V-to-I²⁰, the passive morpheme lowers to V and affixes to the verb resulting in the right word order in S-structure as in (195):

(195) *Libru lebadu*



²⁰ Costa & Pratas (2004) and Pratas (2007) propose that in Capeverdean there is no movement from V-to-I – more specifically, in Capeverdean, of V-to-T, claiming that there is no empirical evidence that justifies V raising. Concerning post-verbal morphemes, they propose a lowering operation of these morphemes to V.

In summary, this section relates the derivation of Capeverdean passives with the configuration and properties of VoiceP. Following (Costa & Martins, 2004), I assume that Voice⁰ is a strong functional head in eventive passives, thus requiring visibility, some morphological material. Since VoiceP is subject to some version of the Doubly Filled Comp filter proposed in Koopman (1997), while Voice⁰ is overt, Spec,Voice is necessarily silent (which results in a passive without an expressed *by*-phrase).

As it is shown in (195), this configuration determines that the derivation for Capeverdean passives and the promotion of the object to subject position are two different independent phenomena.

5. Conclusion

The present dissertation has focused on the study of eventive passives in Capeverdean. Departing from the main properties that have been associated to eventive passives and the main questions that the theory has been dealing with, namely, passive length, thematic role assignment and the active/passive relation, this dissertation has focused on describing the properties of Capeverdean passives concerning morphology, semantic and syntactic constraints, while trying to provide an analysis that could account for these same properties. Considering these goals, this study has shown that Capeverdean has eventive passives with the following properties:

- The canonical object of the verb assumes the subject position in the passive.

- There is no auxiliary verb.
- There is passive morphology, *-du* and *-da*, that affixes to the verb.
- The passive verb interacts with the TMA markers available in the language in the same way the active verb does.
- When there is no morphological TMA marker, the passive has a perfect reading.
- Capeverdean only allows short passives.
- Although not morphologically expressed, the external argument is implicit.

Taking into account other cross-linguistical studies on passives, Capeverdean is different from many languages by not allowing long passives. This observation has led to a proposal that assumes the existence of a functional node, VoiceP, responsible for the alternations in voice in the language and for introducing the external argument (Kratzer, 1996; Sailor & Ahn, 2010). In the case of passives, the passive morphology is in Voice⁰ and the external argument in Spec,Voice. I argue that Capeverdean functional categories are subject to a parametric constraint, in the sense that only VoiceP obeys some version of the Doubly Filled Comp Filter proposed by Koopman (1997). According to this filter, either heads or specifiers can be overt, never both. Based on Costa & Martins (2004), I claim that, in Capeverdean eventive passives, Voice⁰ is a strong functional head, thus requiring visible morphological material. Therefore, in this case, given the Doubly Filled Comp filter as in Koopman (1997) Spec,Voice must be silent.

An immediate consequence of the proposal assumed in the present dissertation is that the promotion of the canonical object to subject position is an independent operation and that there is no transformational relation between passives and actives (Collins, 2004; Gerhke & Grillo, 2009).

Furthermore, this work has shown the properties of Capeverdean eventive passives, by confronting these properties with the other types of passives available in the language, whenever was necessary. However, in the future it would be extremely interesting to deepen into passive typology in Capeverdean, since it could reveal more clearly similarities and distinctions between different types of passives as well as the contexts in which they occur. Additionally, and since Pratas (2014), in her study about Capeverdean reflexives, claims that the Voice head is responsible for the different configurations on transitive actives, reflexives and passives (for details on other

constructions, see Pratas 2014: 247), in the future it would be interesting to further explore the relation between these different constructions.

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